TRAVELS

THROUGH

CANADA,

AND THE

UNITED STATES

OF

NORTH AMERICA,

IN THE YEARS

1806, 1807, & 1808.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND ANECDOTES OF SOME OF THE LEADING CHARACTERS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY JOHN LAMBERT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

WITH A MAP AND NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

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UNIVERSITY

TRAVELS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER XXV.

Journey to New York—Leave Montreal—La Prairie—St. John's—Independent Whig—Fellow Travellers—Sloop Dolphin—David—Crossing the Line—Merman *seen in the Richlieu River—English Negotiators—Isle au Noix—Anecdote of a Soldier—Cumberland Head—Canoe upset—Ducking—Shelburne Bay—American Hospitality—Lake Champlain—Crown Point—Accident—Floating Ice—Old Ti, or Ticonderoga—Gale of Wind—Wood Creek—Run the Vessel ashore—Excursion through the Woods—Whitehall—Capture of General Burgoyne—Account of Saratoga—American Stage Waggon.*

On the afternoon of the 10th November I left Montreal in company with the American captain, and crossed over in a canoe to Longueil, which lies on the south-east shore of the St. Lawrence,

nearly opposite the city. There we hired a calash, and proceeded about nine miles up the river to La Prairie de la Madelaine, a small village which derived its name from the extensive meadow land in its vicinity, dedicated to Mary Magdalen. This place contains about 100 houses, a church, and two or three inns kept by Americans; but the town is inhabited mostly by French Canadians. It is the medium of communication between Montreal and St. John's, and of the commerce carried on between the United States and Lower Canada.

We slept at La Prairie that night, and next morning set off for St. John's in an American stage drawn by three horses. Though I was still in Canada, yet the novelty of such a vehicle made me fancy myself already in the States; and the illusion was increased by meeting with American inn-keepers who spoke English, and in every thing else presented a great contrast to the *maîtres des postes* on the other side of the river. About seven miles from La Prairie we stopped at an American tavern to breakfast, and for a quarter of a dollar were plentifully supplied with beef-steaks, eggs, and tea; and, to add to the pleasure of our *dejeuné*, were attended by a very pretty girl.

A few Habitant houses and farms are scattered along the road; but a great part is yet uncultivated. Within two or three miles of St. John's

the road reaches the Richlieu river, and, bending to the right, proceeds along its bank until it approaches that village. The country on the east or left bank of the river is unsettled, and covered with thick woods on the other side; along the road, towards the village, there are a few indifferent farms; it has the appearance of a new country, though it is upwards of seventy years since the fort at St. John's was constructed. We arrived at St. John's about one o'clock; and having been recommended to Watson's tavern, I put up there till the wind was favourable for the vessel to sail.

The village of St. John consists only of one short street of houses, most of which are stores and inns. Among the latter Cheeseman and Watson's are the best. They are Americans, and the former keeps the best inn at La Prairie; he is also owner of most of the stages which run between the two places. Accommodations at both taverns are, however, very indifferent, though superior to what are afforded at the Canadian post-houses. There is a custom-house in this village, where the exports to and imports from the States are registered, and the duties paid. It stands in the fort, which is situated about two hundred yards from the village. The latter contains a magazine, a few pieces of cannon, and a detachment of soldiers; but it is altogether incapable of effectual defence. The fortification consists of a sort of earthen redoubt, thrown up

around a few houses and a magazine, and strengthened with cedar picketing.

I had waited two days at St. John's, during which I was prevented going out of doors in consequence of the wet weather and bad roads, when I was informed that the vessel in which I was to have sailed had taken advantage of a favourable breeze and left the town in the middle of the night. I was much vexed at this news, as it was uncertain when another vessel would come in, and it was expected that the lake would be frozen over in a few days. I was also astonished that the captain never came to inform me that he intended to sail, and could not help suspecting that my landlord had played me a trick in order to detain me longer in his house.

I was therefore obliged to remain three days longer in imprisonment at this miserable village. I amused myself with reading an old book which the landlord lent me, called The Independent Whig, published in 1720, and containing much satire and invective against the high church or Tory party, and the ministers of the established religion. This book was formerly much read in the English colonies of America, and tended greatly to assist that spirit of independence and republicanism which afterwards led to the Revolution.

On Sunday afternoon a small sloop came in

from Burlington, which I understood was immediately engaged by three gentlemen at Cheeseman's tavern to take them to Skenesborough. While I was preparing to go down to the wharf the master of the vessel called upon me, and I instantly engaged a passage to the same place. He was to discharge his cargo that afternoon, and to sail at night if the wind became favourable. A Mr. Welch soon after arrived at Watson's, and as he was going to New York he also took his passage in the same vessel; and it was agreed that the captain should call for us when he was ready to start. So anxious was I not to miss this opportunity of quitting a place which had now become completely disagreeable to me, that I would not go into bed, but merely laid myself down in my clothes. My precautions were however useless, as it was not till nine o'clock the next morning that the vessel was ready to sail. Having entered our names at the guard-house, we went on board, and immediately got under weigh with a light breeze.

I was agreeably surprised to find that one of the three gentlemen who had engaged the vessel was Mr. Storrow, an American merchant, whom I had met at Dillon's Hotel: he was returning to Boston by the way of New York, in order to arrange his affairs previous to his opening a store at Montreal the following spring. The other two

gentlemen were his acquaintance: one of them, Mr. Henry Mackenzie of the North-west company, was going to New York, and from thence to England, upon the company's concerns: the other was Mr. Lyman, a druggist of Montreal. This gentleman was born in the United States, but found it more profitable to reside in Canada, where he carries on a considerable trade with his native country. Mr. Welch was going to New York, and from thence to South Carolina to recover some property for a mercantile house at Hull. Thus it fortunately happened we were all bound for the same city, a circumstance which made me consider the delay I had experienced at St. John's in a less unfavourable point of view; for, had I gone in the first vessel, which I afterwards learnt went no further than Burlington, I should have have to travel upwards of 400 miles through a strange country by myself; and those who have been in the habit of travelling in America will easily conceive the satisfaction I felt in meeting with agreeable companions on this journey.

The sloop in which we were embarked was a wretched vessel. It had formerly been a regular trader, but being worn out was laid up for sale at Burlington. It was afterwards bought by four men for 100 dollars, upon condition that, if it was seized by the officers and condemned as unfit for

service, the money was to be returned. Two of the purchasers agreed to navigate her to St. John's with a cargo of butter and cheese, intending to return to Burlington with another freight. This was agreed to, and the vessel came in on the Sunday, as I before mentioned; but instead of returning back to Burlington, she was engaged by our party to go to Skenesborough. The offer was tempting; and with several barrels of potash and butter which they took on board for that place, the voyage was likely to turn out very advantageous, particularly if the vessel was seized on her arrival, as they expected; for then the purchasers would recover their 100 dollars again, and have all the freight and passage money as clear profit. The man who commanded the vessel was called Robert; and the other who acted in the capacity of mate and foremastman was named David. Neither of them knew much of the navigation of the Lake, even between Burlington and St. John's, and both were perfectly ignorant of it from Burlington to Skenesborough, which is upwards of 80 miles further.

Our prospects, it must be owned, were rather gloomy. We had to cross a lake above 150 miles in length, and in some parts 20 miles in breadth, in the very worst season of the year, when snow storms happen almost every day, and render the navigation of the lake even more dangerous than

the ocean; added to which, we were in a crazy leaky vessel, without a boat to go ashore in, or a spare rope in case of accident. The sails were in rags, the pumps choked up and broken; and we were obliged to bale out the water from under the cabin every two hours with a tin kettle. To increase our difficulties we had two ignorant men to pilot us, who were as little acquainted with the management of a vessel as they were with the navigation of the lake.

Fortunately for us the weather was fine; and instead of ruminating upon the dangers we were likely to encounter, we amused ourselves by laughing at the unskilfulness of the captain and his mate, particularly the latter, whose fears lest the vessel should be upset at every puff of wind afforded us much diversion. He continually kept fast hold of the peak hallyards, and at every little breeze instantly lowered the peak, exclaiming, '*What an awful wind! It blows nation stout!*' The singularity of his expressions and his fears made us laugh very heartily; and as he was rather a humerous fellow, he took our jokes in good part.

About two o'clock in the afternoon we crossed the *line* in latitude 45 north. But as it was only the *boundary line* between Canada and the United States, *Neptune* and his *spouse* did not condescend to pay us a visit. As some incredulous persons may, however, doubt that the Richlieu river pos-

sesses its gods and goddesses, like the ocean, I shall, for their information, acquaint them, that an ancient French Jesuit missionary positively declared that *he saw a merman* in that river, three leagues below Chambly, and has recorded it in his writings! Though we received no visit from these *marine gentry,* yet it will appear that some of our party paid them a visit in the course of the night; and though the ceremony of *shaving* was omitted, yet that of *ducking* was carried into full effect.

The boundary line is about 18 miles from St. John's, and passes across the Richlieu river within a few miles of Lake Champlain. Hence the Canadians are completely shut out from the lake in case of war, and even from the water communication with their own territory in Missisqui bay. The greatest part of this bay lies in Canada, and is thus cut off by this line of demarcation, so ignorantly or pusillanimously allowed by the English negotiators in the treaty of peace with the American States in 1783. In case of war, the Americans have every advantage over the Canadians, by confining them to the narrow channel of Richlieu river; and the ill effects of it have been already experienced since the embargo, as the rafts of timber were not permitted to come out of Missisqui bay for the purpose of passing down the Richlieu river. The laws however were

broken in several instances; but the parties were liable to fine and imprisonment. If the line had been drawn across the wide part of Lake Champlain, the Americans could never have stationed their gun-boats with such effect as they did in 1807 in the Richlieu river, by which means they interrupted the communication between the two countries by water, and seized great quantities of goods.

From St. John's to the entrance of the lake there are scarcely any settlements. Both shores are lined with woods, consisting chiefly of pines which grow to a great height. A few straggling log-huts are seen at intervals, but otherwise it is completely in a state of nature. The Isle au Noix is situated near the line. Upon it are the remains of a small fortification, which had been successively occupied by the French, English, and American armies during the several wars which have occurred in that country. The name of the island used sometimes to be given out for the parole upon those occasions; and it is related of an English officer during the American war, who, upon being challenged by the sentinel, gave the word "Isle au Noix" in the true pronunciation, that the sentinel refused to let him pass. The officer persisted he was right, and the soldier maintained he was wrong; till at length the former, recollecting himself, cried out "*Isle of Nox.*"

—"*Pass*," said the soldier; "*you have hit it at last!*"

The weather, though clear and dry, was extremely cold and frosty; and we had nothing to make a fire in, but an old broken pitch-pot which could barely hold the wood. Our dinner consisted of some cold boiled beef and tongue, which we brought with us from St. John's; and there being some potatoes on board, we boiled them in a large iron tea-kettle. We appropriated it to that use, as it was not wanted to boil water for tea; having none of the requisites for that meal on board. About five in the afternoon we passed Windmill Point, and entered the lake. We kept as close as possible to the shore, the captain being obliged to report his vessel at the custom-house on Cumberland Head. There being little wind, the sloop glided smoothly through the water; and as the evening closed in, the moon favoured us with her borrowed light, and enabled our unskilful mariners to avoid the craggy rocks which in many places line the shore. Some of us now wrapped ourselves up in buffalo robes, or great coats, and lay down in the cabin, more as a shelter from the cold frosty air than to procure repose. One or two remained upon deck; for there were not births enough for the whole of the party, having two Americans on board, whom we were to put ashore near the custom-house.

About midnight the vessel arrived off Cumberland Head, upon the hearing of which we all went upon deck. Being unwilling to cast anchor for the short time we had to stay at this place, we were obliged to run the vessel upon some rocks near the shore; and not having a boat, we hailed a tavern at some distance in which we perceived a light. Nearly an hour elapsed before we could make any person hear. At length a man came down to the water-side; and being told what we wanted, he soon after came along-side the sloop in a canoe half-full of water. The tin kettle was immediately handed down to him; but his canoe was so very leaky that the water came in as fast as he baled it out. The man, therefore, finding his exertions useless, desired the captain to get in and never mind the water. Robert accordingly complied, and was immediately followed by Mr. Lyman, who wished to get something warm to drink at the tavern; as it then froze very hard, and our fire had gone out. At the moment I was almost inclined to accompany him ashore; but not admiring the idea of sitting nearly knee deep in water, I remained on board: and it was fortunate for me that I did; for Mr. Lyman and the captain had scarcely seated themselves on the gunnel of the canoe when it upset, and all three were completely ducked. On board we were at first alarmed, as they appeared to be out of their depth, and were

looking about for a rope to throw overboard, when we saw them upon their feet making towards the beach, nearly up to their necks in water. The man who had brought off the canoe ran home as fast as possible; while Mr. Lyman and the captain, having dragged the canoe ashore, made the best of their way to the tavern.

When we found they were safe, we could hardly refrain from laughing at the adventure, and the disappointment of the boatman, who little expected that a ducking in the lake at midnight, in frosty weather, would be his only reward. Our tin kettle was lost; for though by the light of the moon we were enabled to see it, we could not fish it up again. Necessity, therefore, obliged us to resort to our last utensil on board, the tea-kettle, for baling out the water, which seemed to gain very fast upon us, and was nearly up to the cabin floor. About ten minutes after Mr. Lyman came on board in the canoe with his clothes *frozen* upon him. The people at the tavern had refused both him and Robert admittance; and though they mentioned the accident they had met with, yet they were inhumanly ordered away, and not allowed even to dry themselves. Robert was then obliged to go to the custom-house, drenched to the skin; and when he afterwards came on board his clothes had become *a solid mass of ice!* We had plenty of brandy on board, and with that they

contrived to throw off the effects of the cold; so that fortunately neither of them received any injury.

We were nearly two hours before we could get the vessel off the rocks. At length having succeeded, we coasted along the shore till four o'clock in the morning, when we arrived in a small bay in the township of Shelburne, about 60 miles from St. John's, situate in the widest part of the lake. Here we went ashore to the first farm-house, at a little distance from the bay. The door was only on the latch, and we entered; but the people were not yet up. Having awaked the master of the house, and told him our situation, he said we were welcome, and that he would get up immediately. In the mean time we collected some wood, and putting it upon the live embers in the fire-place soon made a large fire. This was a most comfortable relief after the cold night we had passed on board our miserable sloop. We found that a considerable quantity of snow had fallen in this part of the lake, though we had not met with any during the passage.

The master of the house with two of his sons were soon up, and having put the kettle on the fire made preparations for breakfast. About six o'clock his wife and daughters, two pretty little girls, came into the kitchen where we were assembled, and in the course of half an hour we

had the pleasure of sitting down to a *substantial American breakfast*, consisting of *eggs, fried pork, beef-steaks, apple-tarts, pickles, cheese, cyder, tea, and toast dipped in melted butter and milk.* We were surprised at seeing such a variety of eatables, as it was not a tavern ; but the farmer was a man of property, and carried on the farming business to a considerable extent. He showed us a great number of cheeses of his own making ; and for churning butter he had made a kind of half barrel, with a place for one of his young boys to sit astride as on horseback. This machine moving up and down answered the double purpose of a churn for making butter, and a rocking-horse for his children.

Having made an excellent breakfast, we inquired of our worthy host what we had to pay : he said he should be satisfied with a York shilling (about 7*d.* sterling) : this, however, we considered too small a sum for the trouble we had given him and his family, and the handsome manner in which he had entertained us ; we therefore gave him a quarter of a dollar each, that being the tavern price for breakfast. We then took our leave, and went on board our vessel, equally pleased with the disinterested hospitality of the American farmer, as with the comfortable refreshment we had received at his house. His conduct formed a striking contrast to that of the tavern-keeper at Cumberland

Head, who refused Mr. Lyman and the captain admittance after their accident.

Lake Champlain is beautifully diversified with islands, some of which are of great extent and well settled. The Isle of La Motte lies at the entrance of the Richlieu river, near the tongue of land which forms Missisqui Bay to the eastward. But the most extensive is Grande Isle, which is 24 miles in length. In the centre of it is a small isthmus, over which the ferry-boats are dragged when crossing the lake: but for this narrow piece of land Grande Isle would be divided into two islands. The Americans have changed the French name to North Hero, and another island of considerable size below it is called the South Hero. The smaller isles which are scattered in various parts of the lake add much to the beauty of the scenery; particularly a cluster of islands called the Brothers, situated at the south end of the lake, a few miles from Burlington. I was informed that in this part the lake had no bottom, at least none had yet been found, though soundings have been attempted with above 200 fathom of line. This beautiful piece of water was originally called Corlaer's lake, but received its present name from the celebrated M. de Champlain, founder of the colony of New France or Canada, of which he was governor. Along the shore of the lake are to be seen numerous houses; many of them handsome, and all

far superior to those of Canada, with well cultivated farms prettily varied by clumps of trees that have been purposely left in clearing the land. The west side belongs to the state of New York, and the east to the state of Vermont. The shores are in many places bold and elevated; in others gently rising from the water's edge towards the base of lofty mountains, which are very numerous in both states, but particularly in Vermont, which may almost be reckoned the Switzerland of the United States. Some of the mountains are said to be nearly 4,000 feet above the level of the sea.

It was about eight o'clock in the morning of the 17th of November when we sailed from Shelburne Bay. The weather was fine, the wind favourable and blowing pretty fresh, so that we put to sea again (if I may be allowed the expression) in high spirits. The leaks in the vessel, however, increased so fast, that one hand was obliged to be constantly baling the water out. As this was so very troublesome, and indeed not altogether effectual, I went into the hold among the barrels of potash and kegs of butter to endeavour to find out the leak. After a long search I discovered the principal one close to the keelson. A small quantity of oakum and a caulking-iron happened to be on board, but neither hammer nor mallet. I however procured a thick piece of wood, and managed to stop up the leak in a tolerable manner;

but was obliged to be very careful not to hammer too hard, lest I should have forced the iron through the bottom of the vessel, which was completely rotten. After this we baled the sloop nearly dry, and were but little troubled with the smaller leak during the remainder of the passage.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we passed Crown Point, a place much celebrated during the French and American wars. The fortifications, which are now in a dilapidated state, are situated on a point of land that commands the entrance of South river. The surrounding country is lofty, and covered with thick woods interspersed with a few settlements. Soon after our entrance into South river we ran aground upon a shoal, and could not get the vessel off again without unloading part of her cargo. We immediately hailed a man on shore, who came off to us in his boat. By his assistance we procured a large scow, and took out several barrels of potash, which lightened the vessel and caused her to float into deep water, where we anchored to take in the potash. Having accomplished this, we engaged the man to pilot us to Skenesborough, about forty miles further, as we found that the navigation became more intricate in the narrow channels, and the captain and his man were perfectly ignorant of the place.

The delay we had experienced by this accident prevented us from getting under weigh till nearly

dark ; soon after which it began to blow very hard from the north-west. We also met several shoals of ice, through which the vessel penetrated with difficulty ; and David was continually calling out that it would cut the bows and sink her : and then to keep up our spirits, he related an accident that happened to one of the sloops upon the lake, which in endeavouring to get through the ice was cut through the bows, and sunk a considerable distance from shore, by which several lives were lost.

The ice which we met with was not sufficiently thick to be dangerous, but it made noise enough to frighten a stouter heart than David's. The wind had also increased to a gale, and though in our favour, yet we did not like to venture into the narrow and intricate channel of Wood Creek before day-light. We therefore came to anchor by advice of our new pilot, who by the by now seemed to be little better acquainted with the place than the other men ; yet as he still professed to know more than they, we reposed some degree of confidence in him. It was scarcely day-light the next morning when we got the vessel under weigh. We kept going at an easy rate under the jib, till we reached Ticonderoga, or, as David called it, "*Old Ti.*" This celebrated place, though now as much neglected as Crown Point, is situate on the western shore, near the entrance of a narrow inlet leading to Lake St. George, and commanding the

passage across Wood Creek. The fortifications were seated on an angle of land, very steep and lofty, surrounded on three sides by water, and covered with rocks. They were however commanded by some eminences in their vicinity, and upon which the Americans threw up some works.

We now saw the danger we should have been exposed to had we passed this place in the night. Two large piles appeared just above water in the middle of the river. They had been sunk by the Americans during the war, when they threw a boom across to obstruct the passage of the British flotilla. The entrance of the creek leading to Skenesborough was also extremely narrow, and intersected with several little islands or shoals covered with reeds and long grass, which in many places divided the creek into channels barely wide enough for the vessel to pass. Our pilot was often puzzled which channel to take, and confessed that it was a long time since he had been that way. A few stakes now and then pointed out the course; but for the most part we ran it at hazard, and with imminent danger of striking upon some of the shoals.

The gale continued to increase, and we were obliged to use great precaution in avoiding the numerous islets with which this creek abounds. While we sailed in a straight direction the wind was directly aft; but being much [illegible] obliged

to make a serpentine course, it was sometimes on our quarter, at other times on our beam, and frequently on the bow. The wind also came in such sudden flaws off the mountains which line the shores of this creek, that the sloop had several narrow escapes from being upset, and was often near on her beam ends. In one of the gusts the main boom broke away from the stern, knocked down the captain and pilot, and carried Mr. Storrow's hat overboard. As we had no boat, we could not go after it, and the vessel was going too fast through the water to put about in such a narrow and confined channel. We were then about ten miles from Skenesborough; and as several of the smaller channels were frozen up, we expected every moment to find our passage obstructed by the ice.

This narrow river, which has very properly received the name of Wood Creek, runs between a chain of lofty mountains, which present a series of hanging woods and rocks rising up in ranges one behind the other to an immense height. The whole appears in a complete state of nature, covered with immeasurable forests: nor did we meet with more than a few solitary huts during the whole of our passage through this labyrinthian stream. The scenery was indeed sublime, but very forbidding; and the season of the year by no means tended to soften its aspect.

About noon we arrived within three miles of Skenesborough, near a bend of the river, where we found our progress suddenly arrested by the ice, which entirely blocked up the channel. The wind was powerful enough to have forced the vessel through it, and we cut a passage for two or three hundred yards; but finding the bows of the sloop much chafed, and apprehensive that they would not long withstand such a pressure of ice, we ran her ashore, and made her fast to the trees. We were now in the midst of a dreary forest; and though but a few miles from the place of our destination, yet there was neither road nor path to it. We, however, all set out under the guidance of our pilot, who knew the direction in which Skenesborough lay, and with our baggage upon our shoulders commenced our march through the woods. After nearly two hours' toilsome walk over broken trunks of trees, up hill and down dale, across bogs and through brushwood and brambles, we arrived at Skenesborough. Here we put up at the only inn in the place, and were glad enough to rest and refresh ourselves after our fatigues.

The village of Skenesborough, or, as it is now called by the Americans, *Whitehall*, is situate in a wild romantic country as yet but little cultivated or improved. It contains very few houses; but its principal resources are derived from the falls in its vicinity, upon which are built some saw-

and flour-mills; and from the commerce carried on between the state of New York and Canada, it being the port or harbour for most of the vessels employed in that trade, and in transporting goods to the different settlements along the lake. It is only within the last twenty years that much progress has been made in settling the lands in this part of the country. During the American war they formed almost one continued wood, containing merely a few wretched roads or intricate paths. It was here that General Burgoyne and his army were delayed so many weeks in opening the roads through the woods to Fort Edward, which occasioned many of those difficulties that afterwards led to the capture of that fine army. I am told that when the General found he was hemmed in on every side, and knew he must surrender, he gave permission to his officers and soldiers to take advantage of the night, and make their escape into Canada. Upwards of 2000 escaped in this manner, and went off in small parties with Indians for their guides. Captain Ferguson of the Canadian fencibles, whom I have before mentioned, was then in Burgoyne's army, and went off with his father, who was a captain in one of the regiments. They made their escape at night without any Indian for their guide, and were forty-three days in the woods before they reached St. John's, during which they had no other subsistence than the

leaves and bark of trees, and what little game they could pick up.

I regretted that during my journey into the States I had no opportunity of visiting Saratoga, the memorable scene of that unfortunate event. But I understand that it remains nearly in the same state as described by the Duke de Rochefoucault Liancourt. The annexed engraving is from a copy which I took of the drawing of an American gentleman, and represents the situation of the respective eminences on which the English, German, and American troops were posted, particularly the encampment where General Burgoyne terminated his melancholy campaign.

At the time the Duke visited this memorable spot it belonged, together with a considerable tract of country in the vicinity, to Mr. John Schuyler, a son of the American general of that name. He is since dead; but the house in which he resided stands exactly on the spot where this important occurrence took place. Fish Creek, which flows close to the house, formed the line of defence of the camp of the English general, which was situated on an eminence about a quarter of a mile from the dwelling. The camp was also entirely surrounded by a mound of earth to strengthen its defence. In the rear of the camp the German troops were posted by divisions on a commanding height, communicating with the eminence on

which General Burgoyne was encamped. The right wing of the German corps had a communication with the left wing of the English, and the left extended towards the river.

General Gates was encamped on the other side of the creek, at the distance of an eighth of a mile from General Burgoyne; his right wing stretched towards the plain, but he endeavoured to shelter his troops as much as possible from the enemy's fire until he resolved to form the attack. General Nelson, at the head of the American militia, occupied the heights on the other side of the river, and engaged the attention of the left wing of the English, while other American corps observed the movements of the right wing.

In this position General Burgoyne surrendered his army. His provision was nearly consumed; but he was well provided with artillery and ammunition. The spot remains exactly as it then was, excepting that the bushes, which were cut down in front of the two armies, are since grown up again. Not the least alteration, says the Duke, has taken place since that time; the entrenchments still exist; nay the foot path is still seen on which the adjutant of General Gates proceeded to the General with the ultimatum of the American commander. The spot on which the council of war was held remains unaltered; and, in short, all the interesting memorabilia of that melancholy

catastrophe have hitherto been most inviolably preserved. No monument or other recording emblem has yet been erected either by the American government or by individuals to perpetuate the remembrance of an event which tended so materially to establish the independence of their country. Perhaps none would be necessary were it possible to maintain the scene of action in its primitive state; but as that is not likely to be the ease, the neglecting to raise some lasting memorial of the victory shows a want of respect for the memory of those brave men who sealed with their blood the independence of the United States. The sight of such a monument would inspirit their descendants, and teach them to venerate that which had been so dearly purchased.

Having refreshed ourselves at the inn, and settled for our passage with Captain Robert, we engaged with a waggoner to carry us and our baggage to Troy. He wanted twenty dollars for the journey; but Mr. Lyman, being acquainted with the imposition of those gentry, refused to give him more than twelve, which he at length agreed to take, though not without many professions of his own moderation in so doing. The roads being bad at this season of the year, we could not procure the stage which otherwise runs upon this road. The waggon we hired is common in the States, and is used by the country people to carry their provi-

sions to market, or to transport goods from one part of the country to the other. A great number are constantly employed on the road between Skenesborough and Troy. It is a long narrow cart upon four wheels, and drawn by two horses abreast. When used as a stage for travelling, a couple of chairs are placed in it: but it is a very rough method of riding; for the waggon has no springs, and a traveller ought to have excellent nerves to endure the shaking and jolting of such a vehicle over bad roads.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Leave Skenesborough—American Taverns—Hire another Waggon—Dine at Salem—Captain White—Humorous Waggoner — Turnpikes, a profitable Speculation—Travelling by Night—Lansingburgh—Troy—Newspapers--Federalists and Democrats—Stage Coach--Steam-boat--City of Albany ; its improved State—Gregory's Hotel—Mode of living at Taverns—Town of Hudson—Experiment Sloop a new Packet Vessel—The Hudson River—Beautiful Scenery—Theological Dispute—Entertainment on board the Sloop—Major André—West Point—Arrival at New York—Appearance of the City at Night.

It was about four o'clock in the afternoon when we left Skenesborough. The road lay through a newly-settled country, which presented on both sides a dreary aspect ; though it was perhaps owing as much to the season of the year as the nature of the country. The woods in many places had been cleared by burning the bark off the trees, and numbers of them yet remained standing, though vegetation was destroyed. The other parts of the farms were covered with the stumps of trees, and

enclosed by worm fences, which gave to these settlements a very rough appearance. They were however numerous, and contained several good houses.

About seven o'clock we arrived at Granville, a small town containing a church and several neat houses. We put up for the night at a very good tavern, where we were supplied with an excellent supper, composed of as great a variety as we met with for breakfast at Shelburne, and which is customary at all the taverns throughout the northern States. One large room up stairs contained above a dozen beds, so that we each had a separate one; a thing not always to be met with at every tavern in the States. But the practice of putting two or three in a bed is now little exercised, except at very indifferent taverns, and they are chiefly confined to the back parts of the country. Within the last twenty years the States have been so much improved, that good inns are established in almost every town and village along the principal roads, and the accommodations of many of them are equal to those of England. Travellers are not, therefore, liable to have a strange man step into their bed, as was the case formerly. During the whole of my tour through the States I never had occasion to *bundle*, though I have been sometimes asked if I wished to have a *single* bed.

We breakfasted at six the next morning, and

hired another waggon for eight dollars, there not being room enough in the other without sitting extremely crowded. Mr. Leavens, the master of the tavern, was to drive us; and having divided our baggage equally between the two waggons, we procured double chairs, which are made for the purpose, and placed them in the fore part of the waggon. They contained two persons, and the driver sat in front. Being thus more comfortably accommodated than on the preceding evening, we began our journey in good spirits. It was well that we were provided with large buffalo robes and great coats, for the morning was excessively cold, and the snow fell in abundance.

I had not an opportunity so late in the year to see the country to advantage, but I perceived that it improved the further we proceeded on our journey. It is agreeably diversified with hill and dale, small woods, clumps of trees, corn-fields, pastures, and meadow lands. The soil is said to be fertile, and it appeared in general to be well cleared from the stumps of trees, which abounded in the plantations through which we had passed the preceding day. Many very handsome houses and churches are built near the road side, all of wood; but constructed very neatly with clap-boards and shingles, which cover the heavy timbers. Many of the houses are built in the style of English country dwellings of the modern taste;

some of them two or three stories high, painted white, and ornamented with green venetian shades. The churches are uncommonly neat, painted white, and kept in excellent order. They have good spires, and some of them bells.

We passed through Hebron, and some other small villages, and arrived at Salem to dinner. This little town consists of one street of handsome houses, many of them red brick, but the greater part of wood. They are built with considerable taste, and are ornamented much like the other buildings I have mentioned. Some of them are shops and inns; but the majority appear to be private houses belonging to gentlemen of property in this part of the country. It is quite a new town, and apparently in a state of progressive improvement.

After dinner we proceeded on our journey. Mr. Leavens's horses being but indifferent, he took the lead with his waggon, in which were Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. Welch. Mr. Storrow, Mr. Lyman, and myself, followed in the next waggon. Our driver had an excellent pair of horses, which would have knocked up those of Leavens's, had they taken the lead as they did in the morning. The roads being covered with snow also obliged us to slacken our pace. This tedious travelling was by no means to our taste, and we should possibly have lost our good humour, had

not the arch whimsicality of our driver, who was called *Captain White*, furnished us with abundant matter for mirth. He entertained us with many humorous stories, and had always something smart to say to every waggoner or person that passed us. He spoke to several people of consequence in the country with the utmost freedom. To one, it was, "*Why, Major, you look as if you couldn't help it this cold day.*" To another, "*Nation bad road, General.*" To a third, who was a judge, "*Awful weather, master, and sure enough your nose looks blue upon't.*" They all seemed to know him, and took his jokes in good part; for it afterwards turned out, that our waggoner was himself *a captain in the army!* He was very severe upon his brothers of the whip, whom he declared to be the greatest *rogues* in the state of New York, and assured us, that we might consider ourselves very lucky in having fallen into his hands, as *he was the only honest one* among them, save and except his friend Master Leavens, who was as worthy a fellow as himself.

We arrived at a tavern about eight miles from Salem, just as it was dark. Here we halted for a few hours to refresh ourselves and the horses. About eleven o'clock we proceeded on our route to Troy. As we travelled during the night, it is impossible for me to describe the appearance of this part of the country; and the moon did not

condescend to enliven us with her pale beams. But our driver informed us that it was in a better state of cultivation and improvement than that through which we had passed. There are several turnpikes along this road, by which means it is kept in good repair. They are common throughout the northern and middle States, and have tended greatly to improve the country; for as soon as a good road is opened through the woods, communicating between the greater towns, the country which was before a trackless forest becomes settled, and in a few years the borders of the road are lined with habitations. The expenses are defrayed by shares subscribed by a certain number of persons, who form themselves into a company under an act of the legislature. It is a speculation that few have failed in, for the traffic on the road soon increases the value of the capital. It would be well if Canada was to imitate the example of her neighbours in this respect.

This night we passed through Cambridge, Hosick, Pittstown, and Schatchoke, all small neat towns. The further we went to the southward the less snow we found on the ground, and by the time we arrived at Lansingburgh it entirely disappeared. We reached this town about four o'clock in the morning; but it was yet so dark, that I could only discern that it consisted of one long street of large brick houses, many of them

apparently handsome buildings. Troy is situated but a few miles from Lansingburgh, and we arrived there about five o'clock. We put up at a large inn; and as we had now done with our waggon-drivers we paid them the twenty dollars according to our agreement, and parted mutually satisfied. We had no cause to complain of either of them, and the rough humour of *Captain White* had afforded us much mirth.

Troy is a well built town, consisting chiefly of one street of handsome red brick houses, upwards of a mile and a half in length. There are two or three short streets which branch off from the main one; but it is in the latter that all the principal stores, wherehouses, and shops are situated. It also contains several excellent inns and taverns. The houses, which are all new, are lofty, and built with much taste and simplicity, though convenience and accommodation seem to have guided the architect more than ornament. The deep red brick, well pointed, gives the buildings an air of neatness and cleanliness seldom met with in old towns; but I cannot say that I admire it so much as the yellow brick in England. The town is built on the east shore of the Hudson or North River close to the beach, and about six miles above Albany, which is situated on the opposite shore. Troy has been erected within the last twenty years, and is now a place of considerable impor-

tance. The trade which it has opened with the new settlements to the northward, through the States of New York and Vermont as far as Canada, is very extensive; and in another twenty years it promises to rival the old established city of Albany. Its prosperity is indeed already looked upon with an eye of jealousy by the people of the latter place.

While we were at breakfast, newspapers came in from New York, containing accounts of the English expedition to Copenhagen, and the refusal of the British government to agree to the proposals of Mr. Pinckney, to negotiate a treaty upon the same terms as had been before so haughtily rejected and sent back by Mr. Jefferson. We were much interested with the news, and the Americans appeared apprehensive that a war would take place between the two countries. Several strangers came into the room, and began to make some observations on the news: but none of our party made them any reply; for the Americans are so extremely captious upon political subjects, that they can never speak of them without entering into a dispute; and disputes generally terminate in quarrels. I soon perceived that the people were divided into two parties, the federalists and the democrats, and that both were equally violent in their political altercations. The federalists are as partial to the English as the democrats

are to the French, and the people of those nations who reside in the States enlist themselves under the banners of these two parties. I shall have an opportunity of speaking more particularly of them in a future chapter, and for the present shall proceed with our journey.

After breakfast we crossed the Hudson in a ferry-boat, and got into the stage which was going to Albany. It was similar to the one in which I had travelled from La Prairie to St. John's, and is in general use throughout the States. It is in the form of a large coach, with open sides and front, and flat roof supported by eight pillars. The pannels do not come up higher than the hip, and in wet or cold weather leather curtains are let down on each side; the buttons and straps are however frequently broken off, so that the wind and rain often find a ready admittance. This kind of carriage, notwithstanding its defects, is far superior to the Canadian calash for long journeys, as the latter affords not the least shelter. It is always drawn by four horses, which in well settled parts of the United States are as good as the generality of English stage horses. The Americans have not yet introduced the close English stage with glass windows, probably on account of the hot weather which prevails there much more than in England, and the indifferent roads which are yet in existence in many parts of the Union, particu-

larly to the southward, and in the back settlements.

We rode along the border of the Hudson, which is prettily adorned with several small islands. It is sufficiently deep to admit sloops up to Troy, and flat-bottomed boats much higher. The surrounding country is well settled, and presents to the eye the pleasing prospect of rich cultivated lands, woods, towns, villages, and scattered habitations. We arrived at Albany about noon, and put up at the Tontine coffee-house kept by Gregory. We now learnt that the river was frozen over several miles below Albany, and that the steam-boat in which we intended to have taken our passage to New York was laid up for the winter. We were much disappointed at this news, — as we were very desirous of seeing the construction and management of this celebrated vessel, which travels at the rate of *five miles an hour against wind and tide*. It was built about four years ago, under the direction of Mr. Fulton, an American gentleman of great mechanical abilities. The length of the boat is 160 feet, and her width in proportion, so as not too much to impede her sailing. The machine which moves her wheels is called a twenty-horse machine, or equal to the power of so many horses, and is kept in motion by steam from a copper boiler eight or ten feet in length. The wheels on each side are similar to those of

water-mills, and under cover; they are moved backward or forward, separately or together, at pleasure. Her principal advantage is in calms or against head winds. When the wind is fair, light square sails, &c. are employed to increase her speed. Her accommodations include fifty-two births besides sofas, and are said to be equal, if not superior, to any vessel that sails on the river. They are necessarily extensive, as all the space unoccupied by the machinery is fitted up in a convenient and elegant manner. Her route between Albany and New York is a distance of 160 miles, which she performs regularly twice a week, sometimes in the short period of thirty-two hours, exclusive of detention by taking in and landing passengers. She carries from 100 to 120 people. The fare from New York to Albany is seven dollars.

The city of Albany has of late years rapidly increased in size, wealth, and population. A number of handsome dwelling-houses and public buildings have been erected, and the old heavy Dutch houses with the gable end towards the street are considerably diminished. One of the principal streets has a great resemblance to the Haymarket in London, being nearly the same width, and situated on an ascent. Albany contains about 6,000 inhabitants, and ranks next to the city of New York in that state. The trade which is car-

ried on in this city with the new settlements to the northward and westward is very considerable, and is daily increasing. We had excellent accommodations at Gregory's, which is equal to many of our hotels in London. It is the custom in all the American taverns, from the highest to the lowest, to have a sort of *table d'hôte*, or public table, at which the inmates of the house and travellers dine together at a certain hour. It is also frequented by many single gentlemen belonging to the town. At Gregory's, upwards of thirty sat down to dinner, though there were not more than a dozen who resided in the house. A stranger is thus soon introduced to an acquaintance with the people, and if he is travelling alone, he will find at these tables some relief from the ennui of his situation. At the better sort of American taverns or hotels, very excellent dinners are provided, consisting of almost every thing in season. The hour is from two to three o'clock, and there are three meals in the day. They breakfast at eight o'clock upon rump steaks, fish, eggs, and a variety of cakes, with tea or coffee. The last meal is at seven in the evening, and consists of as substantial fare as the breakfast, with the addition of cold fowl, ham, &c. The price of boarding at these houses is from a dollar and a half to two dollars per day. Brandy, hollands, and other spirits, are allowed at dinner; but every other liquor is paid

for extra. English breakfasts and teas, generally speaking, are meagre repasts compared with those of America; and as far as I had an opportunity of observing, the people live, with respect to eating, in a much more luxurious manner than we do, particularly in the great towns and their neighbourhoods. But their meals, I think, are composed of too great a variety, and of too many things, to be conducive to health; and I have little doubt but that many of their diseases are engendered by gross diet, and the use of animal food at every meal. Many private families live nearly in the same style as at these houses, and have as great variety upon their tables. Formerly, pies, puddings, and cyder used to grace the breakfast table: but they are now discarded from the genteeler houses, and are found only at the small taverns and farm-houses in the country.

Having hired a stage to take us to Hudson, about thirty miles below, on the east side of the river, we left Albany the following morning, and crossed over to the opposite shore in the ferry-boat. At the top of a hill, which rises gradually from the water side, we had a beautiful view of the city and its environs. Several gentlemen's seats appeared to great advantage, and the plantations, gardens, meadow lands, and orchards, interspersed among a number of handsome buildings, had a very picturesque effect. I only re-

gretted that I was deprived of the pleasure of viewing such a pleasing scene at a more congenial season of the year. The day was however remarkably fine, which made some amends for the sombre tint of nature. The country through which we travelled this day was fruitful, well cultivated, and adorned with several neat farms and villages. In the evening we arrived at Hudson. This town is of modern construction, and like Troy consists of one very long street. The houses are of wood or brick; many of them built with taste, and all spacious and commodious. Shops and warehouses are numerous, and there are several large inns; from which I conceived that a considerable trade was carried on between this town and the interior. It has every appearance of a thriving settlement; and its situation is elevated and advantageous for commerce. There are several large brick warehouses near the wharfs for the reception of goods; and a great many small vessels sail continually between this town and New York. Ship-building is carried on here, and a vessel of 3 or 400 tons was just ready for launching. Several other vessels of that size were also in the harbour.

The next morning, Sunday 22d November, we embarked on board the Experiment, a fine new sloop of 130 tons, built expressly for carrying passengers between Hudson and New York. The whole vessel was handsomely fitted up. It had

two private cabins abaft, containing several bed-places for ladies. In the midship was a large general room upwards of sixty feet long, and twenty feet wide, containing a double tier of bed-places on each side for gentlemen, with printed cotton curtains drawn before them. At the head of this cabin or room there was a bar, like that of a coffee-house, where the company were supplied with wine, bottled porter, ale, segars, and such articles as were not included in the passage-money. Between the bar and the forecastle was a very complete kitchen fitted up with a good fire-place, copper boilers, and every convenience for cooking. The forecastle was appropriated to the use of the sailors. The passage-money was five dollars, for which the passengers were provided during the voyage with three meals a-day, including spirits; all other liquors were to be separately paid for.

About nine o'clock in the morning we left the wharf, which was crowded with people to see the vessel depart; for it was the largest and best of the kind, except the steam-boat, that sailed on the river as a packet. It had not been established above six months. The mainmast, boom, and mainsail were of an immense size for a sloop, but we had ten or a dozen fine young fellows to work the vessel; and having a smart breeze, we soon left the town of Hudson far behind us. Mr.

Elihu Bunker, who commanded the vessel, was part owner as well as captain, and seemed to be a plain religious sort of man. He had more the look of a parson than a sailor; and had posted up a long list of regulations at the cabin door, which, if properly enforced, were well calculated to keep his passengers in good order. In truth, something of the kind was necessary; for we had upwards of fifty persons on board, nearly all men. Among the forbidden articles were playing at cards and smoking in the cabin.

The morning was remarkably fine; the wind favoured us, and we had every prospect of an agreeable voyage. The month of November was but ill adapted to view the country to advantage; for the gay verdure of the fields and forests was now supplanted by the brown and gloomy hue of winter. Yet the scenes that presented themselves along the shores of the Hudson were in some places of that grand and romantic description, and in others so beautifully picturesque, that they could not fail to interest the spectator at any season of the year. This river affords some of the noblest landscapes and scenery that are to be found in any part of North America. Nature and art have both contributed to render its shores at once sublime and beautiful.

The river in many places is intersected with numerous islands. In others it is diversified with

handsome windings. Sometimes its waters are contracted between stupendous rocks that frown aloft in sullen majesty. At other times they are expanded to a great extent between a fine open country containing well cultivated settlements. The rocks which line the shore in numerous parts of the river are steep and rugged; and rise to such a height above the water's edge, that the largest trees which grow upon their summits are dwindled in appearance to the smallest shrubs. Behind these rocks are ranges of enormous mountains which extend far into the country, and are covered with trackless forests.

> ——————" Gigantic, vast,
> O'ershadowing mountains soar, invested thick
> Their shaggy waists, and to their summit far
> A wilderness unbounded to the eye,
> Profuse, and pathless, unsubdued by toil.
> Diminutive beneath, the Hudson, deep
> Coerced by rocks, and silent, penetrates
> The solitudinous and woodland scene;
> ———struggling for a passage."

In other places the shores rise from the water's edge into small hills, and descending on the opposite side form beautiful little valleys; beyond them arise other acclivities, which at length terminate at the base of lofty mountains. The country thus gently undulated is covered with rich farms, plantations, orchards, and gardens, and studded with

neat and handsome dwelling-houses. The cultivated parts are intersected with small woods, coppices, and clumps of trees, which add much to the diversity of the scenery, and form a pleasing contrast to lawns, meadows, and corn-fields. In several places along shore are elegant mansions and country seats belonging to the principal persons in the State of New York. Some were pointed out to us, and the names of their owners mentioned; but I only recollect those of Mr. Livingston and Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the general who fell at Quebec. The river is also ornamented with several little towns and villages near the water-side; and except in the neighbourhood of the rocks and mountains the country appeared to be well inhabited. The fineness of the weather contributed much to heighten the beauty of the scenes which every where opened upon our view as the vessel glided with the stream. In short, words are inadequate to do justice to the variety and splendour of the objects that present themselves at every turn and winding of this beautiful river. The pencil of a Claude can alone delineate them as they deserve, and pourtray their beauties with fidelity and truth.

We had not more than half a dozen ladies on board, the rest of our numerous company were *gentlemen* of all descriptions. Most of them appeared to be methodists, baptists, and other dis-

senters, who are very numerous in the States; and it being Sunday, several of them got together and sung hymns. They had good voices, and sung in different keys; but there was a melancholy monotony in the tunes which I did not much admire. We had two singing groups; one on deck, and the other in the cabin. Beside which, there was a third group assembled round a methodist parson, who harangued for a considerable time with much self-satisfaction, until he happened unfortunately to broach some curious doctrines, when he was cut short by a gentleman, who, from the opinions he advanced in opposition to the parson, seemed to doubt the authenticity of revealed religion. I really believe, however, that he was not in earnest, and only started difficulties to puzzle the other, who now quitted his preaching to enter the lists with the sceptic as he called him. For upwards of two hours they combated each other with great ardour, affording the rest of the company high entertainment. The gentleman pointed out all the incongruities in the Old and New Testament, seeming to doubt every thing which had been accomplished by miracles, and challenged the other to prove their authenticity. The parson proceeded in the common-place way to satisfy the doubts of his antagonist. In some instances he succeeded tolerably well; but in others he was completely confounded, and was obliged

to digress from the subject to something which he thought unanswerable by his opponent. The latter, however, endeavoured to keep him always to the point; and the parson was at times so much perplexed, that he became the butt of the company. He however bore their jokes with great good humour and patience; but finding that he could not satisfy the gentleman's scruples, he began upon politics. We soon discovered that he was a Jeffersonian; and there happening to be a large majority of federalists on board, among whom were the editor and printer of the Albany Balance, a strong anti-democratic paper, the poor parson got most roughly handled; and I perceived that it was a more difficult task for him to keep his temper upon politics than upon religion.

In this manner the morning was passed, and we were glad to find our party of disputants and politicians sit down to dinner with great cordiality, and in the pleasures of the table forget the fretfulness of an empty stomach. Our dinner consisted of every thing in season, and was admirably served up: indeed, it would not have disgraced a tavern in London. At seven o'clock we had tea and coffee together with the cold turkeys and ham left at dinner. This was our last meal. At ten o'clock some few of the passengers turned into their births: others, not inclined to go to bed so

soon, called for wine, and began to sing some patriotic songs, such as Hail Columbia, &c. One of them sung several English songs, which not exactly suiting the democratic principles of two or three persons on board, the captain came into the cabin, and said that he was desired by some of the passengers to request, that as it was Sunday night the gentlemen would not sing; it also prevented those who had lain down from going to sleep. The poor methodist parson was immediately suspected, and charged with endeavouring to interrupt the conviviality of the company. He however came forward and assured them he was innocent of the charge. The jovial party declared that it was very hard they were not permitted to amuse themselves with a few innocent songs, when they had so quietly listened all the morning to the dismal psalm-singing and political disputes of other gentlemen: but as it was near twelve o'clock they acquiesced in the wishes of the captain. They were, however, determined to have another bottle or two of wine; and sat up a considerable time longer, cracking their jokes upon the parson, and on those who had expressed their disapprobation of singing songs on Sunday.

We sailed all night; but as the wind shifted to an opposite quarter, we made but little progress. The next morning it became more favourable; and the weather being fine, we had an agreeable

passage. The prospects that presented themselves were equally beautiful and varied as yesterday; but the country was more rocky and mountainous. This day we passed the fort at West Point, where Arnold betrayed the cause of his country, and brought upon the gallant Major André an ignominious death.

——"Far within the lofty desert we beheld
The fort, and thundering cannon on its brow,
Raised on the western rocks, where travellers long
The base and vain design that had betray'd
Columbia, shall relate."

About ten o'clock at night we arrived at New York; it was very dark, and as we sailed by the town, lighted lamps and windows sparkled everywhere, amidst the houses, in the streets, and along the water-side. The wharfs were crowded with shipping, whose tall masts mingled with the buildings, and together with the spires and cupolas of the churches, gave the city an appearance of magnificence, which the gloomy obscurity of the night served to increase.

When the vessel was made fast to one of the wharfs, I went ashore with Mr. Mackenzie, Mr. Lyman, and the rest of our party to find a boarding house. Mrs. Loring's house in the Broadway, where we intended to have lodged, was full; so that, after rambling about the streets for an

hour, we were obliged to return on board again for the night. After so long an absence from London, I could not help experiencing a degree of satisfaction at once more treading the pavement of a large and populous city. Neither Montreal nor Quebec had the least resemblance to that which I had left: but New York seemed to present an exact epitome of it; and at the distance of 3000 miles, I now pleased myself with the idea of finding the manners, customs, and institutions of my own country reflected on this portion of the new world.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Boarding-House—Evacuation of New York celebrated on 25th November—The Harbour—The Broadway — Bowery Road—Shops — Hotels—Public Buildings—The Park—Caterpillars—The Theatre—Mr. Cooper's Performances—Richard the Third — Vauxhall—Ranelagh — Wharfs—Warehouses—Shipping—State of New York before the Embargo—Bustle and Activity which prevailed—Melancholy Effects of the Embargo—Annihilation of Commerce.

THE next morning we left the sloop, and took up our abode with a Quaker lady in Maiden-lane, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Lyman. Her boarders consisted mostly of young merchants of her own family, which was very respectable, and nearly related to some of the principal people in New York. Of our party I was the only one, at the end of a fortnight, who remained in that city. Mr. Lyman returned to Montreal; Mr. Welch sailed for Charleston in South Carolina; Mr. Storrow went to Boston; and Mr. Mackenzie sailed in the British packet for England. Thus I was soon separated from my fellow travellers,

for whom, in the short period of eight days, I had imbibed a friendship that made me part with them reluctantly: so much do we attach ourselves to those who have partaken of our pleasures and adventures, or participated in our dangers and anxieties.

The day after our arrival, being the 25th of November, was the anniversary of the evacuation of New York by the British troops at the peace of 1783. The militia, or rather the volunteer corps, assembled from different parts of the city on the grand battery by the water-side, so called from a fort having been formerly built on the spot, though at present it is nothing more than a lawn for the recreation of the inhabitants, and for the purpose of military parade. The troops did not amount to 600, and were gaudily dressed in a variety of uniforms, every ward in the city having a different one: some of them with helmets appeared better suited to the theatre than the field. The general of the militia and his staff were dressed in the national uniform of blue, with buff facings. They also wore large gold epaulets and feathers, which altogether had a very showy appearance. Some gun-boats were stationed off the Battery, and fired several salutes in honour of the day, and the troops paraded through the streets leading to the water-side; but the crowd being very great, I did not think the ceremony worth the trouble

of following them, and therefore returned home. I was afterwards told that they went through the forms practised on taking possession of the city, manœuvring and firing feux de joie, &c. as occurred on the evacuation of New York. One of the corps consisted wholly of *Irishmen*, dressed in light green jackets, white pantaloons, and helmets.

The city of New York is situated on the island of Manhattan, at the confluence of the Hudson and East rivers. The island is separated from the continental part of the state of New York by the Haerlem river. Its length is about sixteen miles, and its breadth varies from a quarter to a mile and a half. The bay is about nine miles along, and three broad, without reckoning the branches of the rivers on each side of the town. From the ocean at Sandy Hook to the city is not more than twenty-eight miles. The water is deep enough to float the largest vessels. Ships of ninety guns have anchored opposite the city. There they lie land-locked, and well secured from winds and storms; and fleets of the greatest number have ample space for mooring. During the revolutionary war New York was the great rendezvous for the British fleet. From the time of its surrender in 1776 to the peace of 1783 our ships of war passed all seasons of the year here in security.

It has been often observed that the cold of win-

ter has less effect upon the water of New York harbour than in several places further to the south. When Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Alexandria are choked up by ice in severe winters, as in that of 1804, New York suffers scarcely any inconvenience from it. This is owing partly to the saltness of the sound and the bay; while the Delaware, Patapsco, and Potomack, at the respective cities above mentioned are fresh, and consequently more easily frozen. The water at New York differs but little in saltness from the neighbouring Atlantic. The openness of the port is also to be ascribed in part to the greater ebb and flow of the tide. Another reason of the greater fitness of New York for winter navigation is the rapidity of the currents. The strength of these in ordinary tides, and more especially when they are agitated by storms, is capable of rending even the solid ice, and reducing it to fragments. And although the whole harbour was covered by a bridge of very compact ice in 1780, to the serious alarm of the British garrison, the like has never occurred since. The islands in the vicinity of New York are Long Island, Staten Island, Governors Bedlow's and Ellis's Islands. The first is of very considerable extent, being 120 miles in length, and about eight miles in breadth. It is a fertile and well cultivated piece of land, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the old Dutch settlers.

New York is the first city in the United States for wealth, commerce, and population; as it also is the finest and most agreeable for its situation and buildings. It has neither the narrow and confined irregularity of Boston, nor the monotonous regularity of Philadelphia, but a happy medium between both. When the intended improvements are completed, it will be a very elegant and commodious town, and worthy of becoming the capital of the United States, for it seems that Washington is by no means calculated for a metropolitan city. New York has rapidly improved within the last twenty years; and land which then sold in that city for fifty dollars is now worth 1,500.

The Broadway and Bowery Road are the two finest avenues in the city, and nearly of the same width as Oxford street in London. The first commences from the Grand Battery, situate at the extreme point of the town, and divides it into two unequal parts. It is upwards of two miles in length, though the pavement does not extend above a mile and a quarter: the remainder of the road consists of straggling houses, which are the commencement of new streets already planned out. The Bowery Road commences from Chatham-street, which branches off from the Broadway to the right, by the side of the Park. After proceeding about a mile and a half it joins the Broadway, and terminates the plan which is intended

to be carried into effect for the enlargement of the city. Much of the intermediate spaces between these large streets, and from thence to the Hudson and East rivers, is yet unbuilt upon, or consists only of unfinished streets and detached buildings.

The houses in the Broadway are lofty and well built. They are constructed in the English style, and differ but little from those of London at the west end of the town; except that they are universally built of *red* brick. In the vicinity of the Battery, and for some distance up the Broadway, they are nearly all private houses, and occupied by the principal merchants and gentry of New York; after which the Broadway is lined with large commodious shops of every description, well stocked with European and India goods, and exhibiting as splendid and varied a show in their windows as can be met with in London. There are several extensive book stores, print-shops, music-shops, jewellers, and silversmiths; hatters, linen-drapers, milliners, pastry-cooks, coach-makers, hotels, and coffee-houses. The street is well paved, and the foot-paths are chiefly bricked. In Robinson-street the pavement before one of the houses, and the steps of the door, are composed entirely of *marble*.

The City Hotel is the most extensive building of that description in New York; and nearly re-

sembles, in size and style of architecture, the *London Tavern* in Bishopsgate-street. The ground-floor of the hotel at New-York is, however, converted into shops, which have a very handsome appearance in the Broadway. Mechanic Hall is another large hotel at the corner of Robinson-street, in the Broadway. It was erected by the society of mechanics and tradesmen, who associated themselves for charitable purposes, under an act of the legislature in 1792. There are three churches on the Broadway: one of them called Grace Church, is a plain brick building, recently erected: the other two are St. Paul's and Trinity; both handsome structures, built with an intermixture of white and brown stone. The adjoining churchyards, which occupy a large space of ground, railed in from the street, and crowded with tomb-stones, are far from being agreeable spectacles in such a populous city. At the commencement of the Broadway, near the Battery, stands the old Government-house, now converted into offices for the customs. Before it is a small lawn railed in, and in the centre is a stone pedestal, upon which formerly stood a leaden statue of George the Third. In the revolutionary war it was pulled down by the populace, and made into bullets.

The City Hall, where the courts of justice are held, is situated in Wall-street, leading from the

coffee-house slip by the water side into the Broadway. It is an old heavy building, and very inadequate to the present population and wealth of New York. A Court-house on a larger scale, and more worthy of the improved state of the city, is now building at the end of the Park, between the Broadway and Chatham-street, in a style of magnificence unequalled in many of the larger cities of Europe. The exterior consists wholly of fine marble, ornamented in a very neat and elegant style of architecture; and the whole is to be surmounted by a beautiful dome, which, when finished, will form a noble ornament to that part of the town, in which are also situated the Theatre, Mechanic Hall, and some of the best private houses in New York. The Park, though not remarkable for its size, is, however, of service, by displaying the surrounding buildings to greater advantage; and is also a relief to the confined appearance of the streets in general. It consists of about four acres planted with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas; and the surrounding foot-walk is encompassed by rows of poplars: the whole is inclosed by a wooden paling. Neither the Park nor the Battery is very much resorted to by the fashionable citizens of New York, as they have become too common. The genteel lounge is in the Broadway, from eleven to three o'clock, during which time it is as much crowded as the Bond-street of London: and the

carriages, though not so numerous, are driven to and fro with as much velocity. The foot paths are planted with poplars, and afford and agreeable shade from the sun in summer. About two years ago the inhabitants were alarmed by a large species of caterpillar, which bred in great numbers on the poplars, and were supposed to be venomous. Various experiments were tried, and cats and dogs were made to swallow them: but it proved to be a false alarm, though the city for some time was thrown into as great a consternation as we have frequently been with mad dogs.

The Theatre is on the south-east side of the Park, and is a large commodious building. The outside is in an unfinished state; but the interior is handsomely decorated, and fitted up in as good style as the London theatres, upon a scale suitable to the population of the city. It contains a large coffee-room, and good sized lobbies, and is reckoned to hold about 1,200 persons. The scenes are well painted and numerous; and the machinery, dresses, and decorations, are elegant, and appropriate to the performances, which consist of all the new pieces that come out on the London boards, and several of Shakspeare's best plays. The only fault is, that they are too much curtailed, by which they often lose their effect; and the performances are sometimes over by half past ten, though they do not begin at an earlier

hour than in London. The drama had been a favourite in New York before the Revolution. During the time the city was in our possession, theatrical entertainments were very fashionable; and the characters were mostly supported by officers of the army. After the termination of the war, the play-house fell into the hands of Messrs. Hallam and Henry, who for a number of years exerted themselves with much satisfaction to please the public. After the death of Mr. Henry, the surviving manager formed a partnership with a favourite and popular performer, under the firm of Hallam and Hodgkinson. Their efforts were soon after aided by the addition of Mr. W. Dunlap. After some time Hallam and Hodgkinson withdrew from the concern, and Mr. Dunlap commenced sole manager. In this capacity he continued till 1804. During his management of the theatrical concerns, he brought forward many pieces of his own composition, as well as several translations from the German. He is now publishing his dramatic works in ten volumes. Mr. Cooper succeeded him in the direction of the theatre, and in his hands it at present remains. The Theatre has been built about ten years, and of course embraces every modern improvement.

I have seen several of Mr. Cooper's performances in very arduous characters. In many, he acquit-

ted himself admirably, and he is justly entitled to the high estimation in which he is held throughout the United States. In some of his characters he almost equalled Kemble, whom he apears to imitate: but he could not come up to the arch-villainy of Richard the Third so admirably depicted by Cooke, who, like his great predecessor Macklin, seems fashioned by nature for that and other characters of a similar cast.

New York has its Vauxhall and Ranelah; but they are poor imitations of those near London. They are, however, pleasant places of recreation for the inhabitants. The Vauxhall garden is situated in the Bowery Road about two miles from the City Hall. It is a neat plantation, with gravel walks adorned with shrubs, trees, busts, and statues. In the centre is a large equestrian statue of General Washington. Light musical pieces, interludes, &c. are performed in a small theatre situate in one corner of the gardens: the audience sit in what are called the pit and boxes, in the open air. The orchestra is built among the trees, and a large apparatus is constructed for the display of fire-works. The theatrical corps of New-York is chiefly engaged at Vauxhall during summer. The Ranelagh is a large hotel and garden, generally known by the name of Mount Pitt, situated by the water side, and commanding some extensive and beautiful views of the city and its environs.

A great portion of the city, between the Broadway and the East river is very irregularly built; being the oldest part of the town, and of course less capable of those improvements which distinguish the more recent buildings. Nevertheless, it is the chief seat of business, and contains several spacious streets crowded with shops, stores, and warehouses of every description. The water side is lined with shipping which lie along the wharfs, or in the small docks called slips, of which there are upwards of twelve towards the East river, besides numerous piers. The wharfs are large and commodious, and the warehouses, which are nearly all new buildings, are lofty and substantial. The merchants, ship-brokers, &c. have their offices in front on the ground floor of these warehouses, These ranges of buildings and wharfs extend from the Grand Battery, on both sides the town, up the Hudson and East rivers, and encompass the houses with shipping, whose forest of masts gives a stranger a lively idea of the immense trade which this city carries on with every part of the globe. New York appears to him the Tyre of the new world.

When I arrived at New York in November, the port was filled with shipping, and the wharfs were crowded with commodities of every description. Bales of cotton, wool, and merchandize; barrels of pot-ash, rice, flour, and salt provisions;

hogsheads of sugar, chests of tea, puncheons of rum, and pipes of wine; boxes, cases, packs and packages of all sizes and denominations, were strewed upon the wharfs and landing places, or upon the decks of the shipping. All was noise and bustle. The carters were driving in every direction; and the sailors and labourers upon the wharfs, and on board the vessels, were moving their ponderous burthens from place to place. The merchants and their clerks were busily engaged in their counting-houses, or upon the piers. The Tontine coffee-house was filled with underwriters, brokers, merchants, traders, and politicians; selling, purchasing, trafficking, or insuring; some reading, others eagerly inquiring the news. The steps and balcony of the coffee-house were crowded with people bidding, or listening to the several auctioneers, who had elevated themselves upon a hogshead of sugar, a puncheon of rum, or a bale of cotton; and with Stentorian voices were exclaiming, "*Once, twice.*" "*Once, twice.*" "*Another cent.*" "*Thank ye, gentlemen,*" or were knocking down the goods, which took up one side of the street, to the best purchaser. The coffee-house slip, and the corners of Wall and Pearl-streets, were jammed up with carts, drays, and wheelbarrows; horses and men were huddled promiscuouly together, leaving little or no room for passengers to pass. Such was the appearance of

this parts of the town when I arrived. Every thing was in motion; all was life, bustle, and activity. The people were scampering in all directions to trade with each other, and to ship off their purchases for the European, Asian, African, and West Indian markets. Every thought, word, look, and action of the multitude seemed to be absorbed by commerce; the welkin rang with its busy hum, and all were eager in the pursuit of its riches.

But on my return to New York the following April, what a contrast was presented to my view! and how shall I describe the melancholy dejection that was painted upon the countenances of the people, who seemed to have taken leave of all their former gaiety and cheerfulness? The coffee-house slip, the wharfs and quays along South-street, presented no longer the bustle and activity that had prevailed there five months before. The port, indeed, was full of shipping; but they were dismantled and laid up. Their decks were cleared, their hatches fastened down, and scarcely a sailor was to be found on board. Not a box, bale, cask, barrel, or package, was to be seen upon the wharfs. Many of the counting houses were shut up, or advertised to be let; and the few solitary merchants, clerks, porters, and labourers, that were to be seen, were walking about with their hands in their pockets. Instead of sixty or a hundred carts, that used to stand in the street for hire,

scarcely a dozen appeared, and they were unemployed; a few coasting sloops, and schooners, which were clearing out for some of the ports in the United States, were all that remained of that immense business which was carried on a few months before. The coffee-house was almost empty; or, if there happened to be a few people in it, it was merely to pass away the time which hung heavy on their hands, or to inquire anxiously after news from Europe, and from Washington: or perhaps to purchase a few bills, that were selling at ten or twelve per cent. above par. In fact, every thing presented a melancholy appearance. The streets near the water-side were almost deserted, the *grass had begun to grow* upon the wharfs, and the minds of the people were tortured by the vague and idle rumours that were set afloat upon the arrival of every letter from England or from the seat of government. In short, the scene was so gloomy and forlorn, that had it been the month of September instead of April, I should verily have thought that a malignant fever was raging in the place; so desolating were the effects of the embargo, which in the short space of five months had deprived the first commercial city in the States of all its life, bustle, and activity; caused above one hundred and twenty bankruptcies; and completely annihilated its foreign commerce!

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Places of Worship—Public Buildings—State Prison—Courts of Law—Board of Health—Quarantine Station—Chamber of Commerce—Inspectors of Lumber, &c.—Commerce of New York—Increase of Commerce—Abundance of Provisions—Articles brought to Market—Price of Commodities at New York—Charitable Institutions—The Ladies' Society for the Relief of poor Widows with small Children—News-papers—Literary Fair.

NEW YORK contains thirty-three places of worship, viz. nine episcopal churches, three Dutch churches, one French church, one Calvinist, one German Lutheran, one English Lutheran, three Baptist meetings, three Methodist meetings, one Moravian, six Presbyterian, one Independent, two Quakers', and one Jews' synagogue.

Besides the public buildings which I have mentioned, there are numerous banks, insurance companies, commercial and charitable institutions, literary establishments, &c. The new State prison is an establishment worthy of imitation in England. By the law of New York, treason, murder, and

the procuring, aiding, and abetting any kind of murder, are the only crimes punishable by death. The mode of execution is the same as in England. All other offences are punished by imprisonment for a certain period in the State prison. This building is situated at Greenwich, about two miles from the City Hall, on the shore of the Hudson river. The space enclosed by the wall is about four acres, and the prison is governed by seven inspectors appointed by the State Council. They meet once a month, or oftner, together with the justices of the supreme court, the mayor and recorder of the city, the attorney-general, and district attorney. The inspectors make rules for the government of the convicts, and other persons belonging to the prison; and appoint two of their own body to be visiting inspectors monthly. The board of inspectors have charge of the prison, and appoint a keeper, or deputy, and as many assistants as they find to be necessary. The salaries of the keepers are paid out of the treasury of the State. The inspectors, or rather the agents of the prison, are empowered to purchase clothing, bedding, provisions, tools, implements, and raw or other materials for the employment of the convicts, and keep accounts of the same: also to open an account with each convict, charging him with his expenses, and crediting him with his labour: and

if there should be any balance due to the convict at the time of his discharge, to give him a part or the whole of it; but if the whole should not be given to him, to convey the residue to the credit of the State. If a convict on entering the prison is unacquainted with any trade, he has the choice of learning one most agreeable to him. I have been told of a man who became a shoe-maker in that prison, and at the end of his time came out with several hundred dollars in pocket. Hence the country is benefited; and individuals, instead of being made worse in prison, are rendered useful members of society.

The expense of conveying and keeping the convicts is always paid by the State. They are dressed in uniforms of coarse cloth, according to their classes and conduct, and kept at some kind of work. For profane cursing, swearing, indecent behaviour, idleness, negligence, disobedience of regulations, or perverse conduct, the principal keeper may punish the convicts by confinement in the solitary cells, and by a diet of bread and water, during such term as any two of the inspectors advise. For the greater security, there is a detachment of firemen allotted to the prison, also an armed guard consisting of a captain, a serjeant, two corporals, a drummer, a fifer, and twenty privates.

The laws are administered by the following courts of justice.

I. *The Court for the Trial of Impeachments, and the Correction of Errors.* Since the removal of the seat of government to Albany, this court is now held in that place. It is the court of *dernier ressort*, and consists of the president of the senate, for the time being, and the senators, chancellor, and judges of the supreme court, or the major part of them.

II. *The Court of Chancery.* This court, consisting of the chancellor, is held twice a year at least in New York, and twice in the city of Albany, and at such other times as the chancellor may think proper. Appeals lie from the decisions of the chancellor to the court for the correction of errors.

III. *The Supreme Court.* This court consists of a chief justice, and four puisne judges, and there are four stated and regular terms. The court appoints circuit courts to be held in the vacation in the several counties, before one of the judges, for the trial of all causes before a jury. Questions of law which arise on the facts, are argued before the whole court. Writs of error may be brought on the judgments of the supreme court, to the court for the correction of errors.

IV. *The Court of Exchequer.* The junior justice in the supreme court, or in his absence any

other of the puisne judges, is *ex officio* judge of the court of exchequer. This court is held during the terms of the supreme court, and at the same places. It hears and determines all causes and matters relating to forfeitures for recognizances or otherwise, fines, issues, amercements, and debts due to the people of the State.

V. *The Courts of Oyer and Terminer, and General Gaol Delivery.* These courts are held pursuant to an act of the legislature, without a special commission, by one or more of the justices of the supreme court; together with the mayor, recorder, and aldermen of the city, or any three of them, of whom a justice of the supreme court must always be one. They have the power to hear and determine all treasons, felonies, and other crimes and misdemeanours, and to deliver the gaols of all prisoners confined therein.

VI. *The Court of Common Pleas, commonly called the Mayor's Court.* This is held before the mayor, aldermen, and recorder, or before the mayor and recorder only. This court hears and determines all actions, real, personal, or mixed, arising within the city of New York, or within the jurisdiction of the court. Where the sum demanded is above 250 dollars, the cause may be removed, at any time before the trial, into the supreme court. A writ of error lies from all judgments of this court to the supreme court.

VII. *The Court of General Sessions of the Peace.* This court is also held by the mayor, recorder, and aldermen, of whom the mayor or recorder must always be one. Courts of special sessions of the peace may also be held at any time the common council may direct, and may continue as long as the court may think proper for the dispatch of business. These courts have the power to hear and determine all felonies and offences committed in the city of New York. There is also a court of special sessions for the trial of petty offences; which consists of the mayor, recorder, and aldermen.

VIII. *The Court of Probates.* Since the removal of the seat of government to Albany, the judge of this court is required to reside in that city. He has all the powers of jurisdiction relative to testamentary matters, which were formerly exercised by the governor of the colony, as judge of the prerogative court, except as to the appointment of surrogates.

IX. *Court of Surrogates.* Surrogates are appointed for each county, by the council of appointment, one of which resides and holds his court in the city of New York. They have the sole and exclusive power to take proof of the last wills and testaments of persons deceased, who at the time of their death were inhabitants of the city, in whatever place the death may have hap-

pened; and to issue probates, and grant letters of administration of the goods, chattels, and credits of persons dying intestate, or with the wills annexed. Appeals from the orders and decrees of the surrogate lie to the court of probates.

X. *District Court of the United States.* This court, consisting of a single judge, has four regular sessions in a year, and special sessions are held as often as the judge thinks necessary. It has exclusive original jurisdiction of civil causes, of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, including all seizures under the laws of impost, navigation, or trade of the United States, on the high seas, and in the navigable waters, as well as seizures on land within other waters, and all penalties and forfeitures arising under the laws of the United States. It has also jurisdiction, exclusive of the State courts, of all crimes and offences, cognizable under the authority of the United States, committed within the district, or upon the high seas, where no other punishment than whipping, not exceeding thirty stripes, a fine not exceeding 100 dollars, or a term of imprisonment not exceeding six months, is to be inflicted. It also has concurrent jurisdiction with the courts of the State, where an alien sues for a *tort* (trespass) only, in violation of the laws of nations, or treaties of the United States; and where the United States sue, and the matter in dispute does not exceed 100 dollars. It

has a jurisdiction over the State courts, of all suits against consuls and vice-consuls.

XI. *The Circuit Court of the United States,* for the district of New York, in the second circuit, is held in the city on the 1st of April and the 1st of September in each year. It consists of one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States, and the judge of the district court. It has original cognizance of all civil suits, where the matter in dispute exceeds 500 dollars, and the United States are plaintiffs, or an alien is the party; or the suit is between citizens of different states. It has exclusive cognizance of all crimes and offences cognizable under the authority of the United States, except where it is otherwise provided by law; and a concurrent jurisdiction with the district court of the crimes cognizable therein.

Of late years a board of health has been established at New York, under an act of the legislature, and a variety of regulations are enjoined, for the purpose of preventing the introduction of malignant fevers. A station is also assigned on Staten Island, where vessels perform quarantine: the buildings which constitute the hospital are separated from each other, and are capable of accommodating upwards of 300 sick. The situation is extremely pleasant, and well adapted to the purpose.

There are five banks, and nine insurance com-

panies: one of the latter is a branch of the Phœnix company of London. There is a chamber of commerce in New York, which has for its object the promotion and regulation of mercantile concerns; and is also a charitable institution for the support of the widows and children of its members.

Inspectors are appointed by the State Council to examine lumber, staves, and heading, pot and pearl ashes, sole leather, flour and meal, beef and pork, previous to exportation. Persons shipping the above articles without having them inspected are liable to heavy penalties.

The commerce of New York, before the embargo, was in a high state of prosperity and progressive improvement. The merchants traded with almost every part of the world; and though at times they suffered some privations and checks from the belligerent powers of Europe, yet their trade increased, and riches continued to pour in upon them. They grumbled, but nevertheless pursued their prosperous career, and seldom failed in realizing handsome fortunes. What a mortifying stroke, then, was the embargo! a measure which obliged them to commit a sort of *commercial suicide* in order to revenge themselves of a few lawless acts, which might have been easily avoided if the merchants had speculated with more prudence. The amount of tonnage belonging to the

port of New York in 1806 was 183,671 tons. And the number of vessels in the harbour on the 25th of December 1807, when the embargo took place, was 537. The moneys collected in New York for the national treasury, on the imports and tonnage, have for several years amounted to one-fourth of the public revenue. In 1806 the sum collected was 6,500,000 dollars, which after deducting the drawbacks left a nett revenue of 4,500,000 dollars; which was paid into the treasury of the United States as the proceeds of one year. In the year 1808, the whole of this immense sum had vanished! In order to show how little the Americans have suffered upon the aggregate from Berlin decrees and orders of council; from French menaces, and British actions; it is only necessary to state, that in 1803 the duties collected at New York scarcely amounted to 4,000,000 of dollars; and that at the period of laying on the embargo, at the close of the year 1807, they amounted to nearly 7,000,000 dollars. After this, it is hardly fair to complain of the violation of neutral rights!

Every day, except Sunday, is a market-day in New York. Meat is cut up and sold by the joint or in pieces, by the licensed butchers only, their agents, or servants. Each of these must sell at his own stall, and conclude his sales by one o'clock in the afternoon, between the 1st of May and the

1st of November, and two between the 1st of November and the 1st of May. Butchers are licensed by the mayor, who is clerk of the market. He receives for every quarter of beef sold in the market six cents; for every hog, shoat, or pig above 14lbs. weight, six cents; and for each calf, sheep, or lamb, four cents; to be paid by the butchers and other persons selling the same. To prevent engrossing, and to favour housekeepers, it is declared unlawful for persons to purchase articles to sell again in any market or other part of the city before noon of each day, except flour and meal, which must not be bought to be sold again until four in the afternoon: hucksters in the market are restricted to the sale of vegetables, with the exception of fruits. The sale of unwholesome and stale articles of provision, of blown and stuffed meat, and of measly pork, is expressly forbidden. Butter must be sold by the pound, and not by the roll or tub. Persons who are not licensed butchers, selling butchers' meat on commission, pay triple fees to the clerk of the market.

The price of several commodities before the embargo was as follows, in sterling money: beef 6½*d.* per lb.: mutton 5*d.*; veal 7*d*; butter 10*d.*; bread, the loaf of 2½ lbs. 7*d.*; cheese 7*d.*; turkeys 7*s.* each; chickens 20*d.* per couple; oysters 7*d.* per dozen; flour 27*s.* per barrel of 196 lbs.; brandy 4*s.* 6*d.* per gallon; coffee 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.; green tea 5*s.*;

best hyson 10*s.*; coals 70*s.* per chaldron; wood 20*s.* per cord; a coat 7*l.* 10*s.*; waistcoat and pantaloons 4*l.* 10*s.*; hat 54*s.*; pair of boots 54*s.*; washing 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen pieces. Price of lodging at genteel boarding-houses, from one guinea and a half to three guineas per week. After the embargo took place the price of provisions fell to nearly half the above sums, and European commodities rose in proportion. The manufactures of America are yet in an infant state; but in New York there are several excellent cabinet-makers, coach-makers, &c. who not only supply the country with household furniture and carriages, but also export very largely to the West-Indies, and to foreign possessions on the continent of America. Their workmanship would be considered elegant and modern in London; and they have the advantage of procuring mahogany and other wood much cheaper than we.

Game laws are not wholly unknown in America. There is an act in force for the preservation of heath hens and other game, which was passed in the year 1791.

There are *thirty-one* benevolent institutions in New York. The names of them are as follow: Tammany Society, Free School, Provident Society, Mutual Benefit Society, Benevolent Society, Albion Benevolent Society, Ladies' Society

for the relief of poor widows with small children, Fire Department, New York Manufacturing Society, Society of Merchants and Tradesmen, the Dispensary, Lying-in Hospital, Sailor's Snug Harbour, Marine Society, Manumission Society, Kinepock Institution, City Hospital, Alms House, House Carpenter's Society, Bellvue Hospital, Marine Hospital at Staten Island, Humane Society, Masonic Society containing thirteen lodges, German Society, Society of Unitas Fratrum, First Protestant Episcopal Charity School, St. George's Society, St. Patrick's Society, St. Andrew's Society, the New England Society, the Cincinnati. Most of these institutions are mere benefit societies, resembling those which are so numerous in England. *The Ladies' Society for the relief of poor widows with small children* merits, however, particular notice, since it is an institution most honourable to the character of the amiable women of that city, and is worthy of imitation in Great Britain.

There are upwards of twenty news-papers published in New York, nearly half of which are daily papers; besides several weekly and monthly magazines or essays. The high price of paper, labour, and taxes in Great Britain has been very favourable to authorship and the publication of books in America. Foreign publications are also

charged with a duty of 13 per cent.; and foreign rags are exempted from all impost. These advantages have facilitated the manufacture of paper and the printing of books in the United States, both which are now carried on to a very large extent. The new works that appear in America, or rather original productions, are very few; but every English work of celebrity is immediately reprinted in the States, and vended for a fourth of the original price. The booksellers and printers of New York are numerous, and in general men of property. Some of them have published very splendid editions of the Bible; and it was not a little gratifying to the American patriot to be told, that the *paper*, *printing*, *engraving*, and *binding*, were all of *American manufacture*. For several years past a literary fair has been held alternately at New York and Philadelphia. This annual meeting of booksellers has tended greatly to facilitate intercourse with each other, to circulate books throughout the United States, and to encourage and support the arts of printing and paper-making.

A public library is established at New York, which consists of about ten thousand volumes, many of them rare and valuable books. The building which contains them is situated in Nassau-street, and the trustees are incorporated by an act

of the legislature. There are also three or four public reading-rooms, and circulating libraries, which are supported by some of the principal booksellers, from the annual subscriptions of the inhabitants. There is a museum of natural curiosities in New York, but it contains nothing worthy of particular notice.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Number of Deaths at New York—Mode of living in America—The Yellow Fever—Population of New York—Deaths—Church-yards—Funerals—Society of New York—Elegant Women—French and English Dresses—Fine Figures—Delicate Complexions—Bad Teeth, a groundless Charge—Education—Thirst after Knowledge—Arts and Sciences—Literature—Taste for Reading—Salmagundi—The Echo—Barlow's Columbiad—Smoking—Style of living at New York—Splendid Marriages—Great Fortunes—Anecdote of a Sailor—Quakers' Meeting—Quakers—Anecdote of a Jew—Singing Schools—Christmas Day—Political Parties—Duels.

It does not appear that the malignant or yellow fever made very great ravages among the inhabitants in 1805, the last time of its appearance in New York; for the deaths very little exceeded the preceding and subsequent years.

In 1804 the deaths were 2,064
1805 2,352
1806 2,252

Of the above number fifty-one were suicides;

and according to the statement of Dr. Mitchill, upwards of one-third of the deaths are occasioned by consumption and debility. To the influence of moisture and the sudden changes of the weather has been attributed the prevalence of nervous disorders and debility among a great number of the inhabitants of the United States. Much may, no doubt, be ascribed to those causes; but I think the mode of living has a more immediate effect upon the human frame than even the climate of a country. The higher and middling classes of the Americans, who reside chiefly in the great towns or their neighbourhood, live, generally speaking, in a more luxurious manner than the same description of people in England. Not that their tables are more sumptuously furnished on particular occasions than ours; but that their ordinary meals consist of a greater variety of articles, many of which from too frequent use may, perhaps, become pernicious to the constitution. The constant use of segars by the young men, even from an early age, may also tend to impair the constitution, and create a stimulus beyond that which nature requires, or is capable of supporting. Their dread of the yellow fever has induced a more frequent use of tobacco of late years; but it is now grown into a habit that will not be easily abandoned. The other classes of the community, who reside in the interior and

back parts of the country, are often obliged to live upon salt provisions the greatest part of the year, and sometimes on very scanty fare; besides which, they generally dwell in miserable log huts, incapable of defending them effectually from the severity of the weather. Those who have the means of living better are great eaters of animal food, which is introduced at every meal; together with a variety of hot cakes, and a profusion of butter: all which may more or less tend to the introduction of bilious disorders, and perhaps lay the foundation of those diseases which prove fatal in hot climates. The effects of a luxurious or meagre diet are equally injurious to the constitution, and, together with the sudden and violent changes of the climate, may create a series of nervous complaints, consumption, and debility, which in the states bordering on the Atlantic carry off at least one-third of the inhabitants in the prime of life.

The malignant or yellow fever generally commences in the confined parts of the town, near the water-side, in the month of August or September. It is commonly supposed to have been introduced by the French refugees from St. Domingo during the French revolution; though some are of opinion that it originated in the States; and many physicians were puzzling their brains about its origin at a time when they ought to have been devising means to stop its ravages. As soon as

this dreadful scourge makes its appearance in New York, the inhabitants shut up their shops, and fly from their houses into the country. Those who cannot go far, on account of business, remove to Greenwich, a small village situate on the border of the Hudson river, about two or three miles from town. Here the merchants and others have their offices, and carry on their concerns with little danger from the fever, which does not seem to be contagious beyond a certain distance. The banks and other public offices also remove their business to this place; and markets are regularly established for the supply of the inhabitants. Very few are left in the confined parts of the town except the poorer classes, and the negroes. The latter not being affected by the fever, are of great service at that dreadful crisis; and are the only persons who can be found to discharge the hazardous duties of attending the sick and burying the dead. Upwards of 26,000 people removed from the interior parts of the city, and from the streets near the water side, in 1805. Since then the town has happily been free from that dreadful scourge; and from the salutary regulations which have since been adopted, it is to be hoped that it will never make its appearance again. The finest cities in America were no doubt preserved from depopulation during the prevalence of the fever by the timely retreat of the inhabitants into the country. It is

to be wished that the same practice was permitted in Spain and other parts of the continent, which are sometimes visited by pestilential fevers, instead of surrounding the towns by a cordon of troops, and cutting off all communication between the unfortunate inhabitants and the country.

The following census of the population of New York was taken in 1807, and laid before the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city in 1808.

CENSUS FOR 1807.

CENSUS OF THE ELECTORS, AND TOTAL POPULATION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

Wards.	Free Persons.	Slaves.	Total Inhabitants.	Electors possessed of Freeholds of the value of 100*l.* and upwards.	Ditto possessed of Freeholds of 20*l.* and under 100*l.*	Ditto not possessed of Freeholds, but who rent tenements of the yearly value of 40*s.*	Ditto, who were Freemen on the 13th October 1775.	Total Electors.
First -	7,584	370	7,954	374	—	707	5	1,086
Second -	7,424	127	7,551	355	—	687	—	1,042
Third -	7,303	406	7,709	337	1	779	1	1,118
Fourth -	9,089	147	9,236	351	—	976	4	1,331
Fifth -	12,603	136	12,739	462	4	1,429	6	1,901
Sixth -	9,749	112	9,861	258	—	1,163	6	1,427
Seventh -	19,363	124	19,487	413	5	2,718	4	3,140
Eighth -	5,959	103	6,067	302	6	715	—	1,023
Ninth -	2,680	246	2,926	158	4	174	3	339
Total -	81,754	1,776	83,530	3,010	20	9,348	29	12,407

Of the preceding number of inhabitants 42,881 are females, and 40,649 are males; making a total of 83,530. In 1805 the population of New York was 75,770: thus in the course of one year and ten months there has been an increase of inhabitants to the amount of 7,760: and within the same period the number of slaves has decreased 272. The following table exhibits the population of this city at different periods from its earliest settlement.

In the year 1697 there were 4,302 inhabitants.

1756	15,000
1771	21,863
1786	23,614
1791	33,131
1801	60,489
1805	75,770
1807	83,530

Hence it appears that the population of New York has, in a period of twenty years, from 1786 to 1805, more than tripled itself; and should the population continue to increase at the rate of five per cent. per annum, it will in 1855 amount to 705,650, a population greater than that of Paris. At this day it is equal to the whole number of inhabitants in the *State* of New York fifty years ago.

If any estimate can be formed of the salubrity of the climate, and the healthiness of the inhabi-

tants of a town, by the number of deaths, London must be reckoned to have the advantage of New York in these respects. The amount of deaths in the former city is about the *fiftieth* part of its population, while in New York it is at least one *thirtieth;* the number of deaths ranging between 2,500 and 3,000 per annum. I am, however, more inclined to attribute this great mortality to improper diet and mode of living than to the insalubrity of the climate. The church-yards and vaults are also situate in the heart of the town, and crowded with the dead. If they are not prejudicial to the health of the people, they are at least very unsightly exhibitions. One would think there was a scarcity of land in America, by seeing such large pieces of ground in one of the finest streets of New York occupied by the dead. But even if no noxious effluvia were to arise (and I rather suspect there must in the months of July, August, and September), still the continual view of such a crowd of white and brown tomb-stones and monuments which is exhibited in the Broadway, must at the sickly season of the year tend very much to depress the spirits, when they should rather be cheered and enlivened, for at that period much is effected by the force of imagination. There is a large burying-ground a short distance out of town; but the cemeteries in the city are still used at certain periods of the year.

They bury their dead within twenty-four hours; a custom probably induced by the heat of the climate during the summer months; but I see no reason why it should be extended to the winter months, which are cold enough to allow of the dead being kept for three or four days, if nothing else prevents it. While I was at New York, a young gentleman, a native of Great Britain, who had settled in that city, died suddenly one evening at the house of an American gentleman to whose daughter he was paying his addresses. It was a most distressing scene for the young lady, for he dropped down at the very moment he was kneeling before her in a playful mood. The young man was taken home to the house where he lodged, and before four o'clock the next afternoon he was interred. My motive for mentioning this circumstance is, because I understood that when they went to screw the coffin down he bled at the nose; and that the pillow on which his head reclined was warm: notwithstanding which he was buried, without any means being tried to restore him! I cannot but think this was a very culpable omission on the part of his friends, considering the sudden manner in which he had *apparently* been deprived of life.

Funerals at New York, as well as in almost every other part of the United States, are attended by a numerous assemblage of the friends and

acquaintances of the deceased, who are invited by advertisements in the newspapers to attend their departed friend to the grave. On such occasions I have seen upwards of five hundred people, and the larger the number the more the deceased is supposed to be respected and valued. I cannot help thinking, however, that these numerous meetings savour somewhat of ostentation, though certainly there is no parade of hearses, nodding plumes, and mourning coaches. The people attend for the most part in their ordinary dress, except those who are nearly related, or particularly intimate with the deceased. The clergyman, physician, and chief mourners, wear white scarfs, which it is also the custom to wear on the following Sunday. The deceased is interred with or without prayers, according to the faith he professed.

The Society of New York consists of three distinct classes. The *first* is composed of the constituted authorities and government officers; divines, lawyers, and physicians of eminence; the principal merchants and people of independent property. The *second* comprises the small merchants, retail dealers, clerks, subordinate officers of the government, and members of the three professions. The *third* consists of the inferior orders of the people. The first of these associate together in a style of elegance and splendour

little inferior to Europeans. Their houses are furnished with every thing that is useful, agreeable, or ornamental; and many of them are fitted up in the tasteful magnificence of modern style. The dress of the gentlemen is plain, elegant, and fashionable, and corresponds in every respect with the English costume. The ladies in general seem more partial to the light, various, and dashing drapery of the Parisian belles, than to the elegant and becoming attire of our London beauties, who improve upon the French fashions. But there are many who prefer the English costume, or at least a medium between that and the French.

In walking the Broadway, some mornings, I have been frequently tempted to believe, while admiring the beautiful forms that passed in review before me, that there existed a sort of rivalry among the New York beauties, as there did about a century ago among the ladies of England; and that instead of a patch on the right or left cheek, to denote a Whig or Tory, methought I could discern a pretty *Democrat* à la mode Françoise, and a sweet little *Federalist* à la mode Angloise. I know not whether my surmises were just; but it is certain that Mrs. Toole and Madame Bouchard, the two rival leaders of fashion in caps, bonnets, feathers, flowers, muslin, and lace, have each their partisans and admirers: one because she is an Englishwoman, and the other because she is French;

and if the ladies are not really divided in opinion as to politics, they are most unequivocally at issue with respect to dress.

The young ladies of New York are in general handsome, and almost universally fine genteel figures. Though I am not inclined, like their sly castigator Anthony Evergreen, to attribute their fine forms to *pickles* and the *vinegar-cruet;* yet they certainly are too fond of *tight lacing*, and compressing their waists between *steel, stay-tape,* and *whalebone.* Fair complexions, regular features, and fine forms, seem to be the prevailing characteristics of the American fair sex. They do not, however, enjoy their beauty for so long a period as Englishwomen, neither do they possess the blooming countenance and rosy tinge of health so predominant among our fair countrywomen, whose charms never stand in need of cosmetics. The beauty of the American women partakes more of the *lily* than the *rose;* though the soft glow of the latter is sometimes to be met with. Their climate, however, is not so favourable to beauty as that of England, in consequence of the excessive heat and violent changes of the weather peculiar to America. I must not omit to mention, in justice to the American fair, that I saw but very few who had recourse to *rouge* for the purpose of heightening their charms.

Most travellers who have visited America have

charged the ladies of the United States universally with having bad teeth. This accusation is certainly very erroneous when applied to the whole of the fair sex, and to them alone. That the inhabitants of the States are often subject to a premature loss of teeth is allowed by themselves; and the cause has even been discussed in the papers read before the American Philosophical Society; but it does not particularly attach to the females, who, as far as I have been able to judge, are much more exempt from that misfortune than the men. Indeed most of the young ladies I met with during my tour through the country had in general excellent teeth: some in particular were extremely even and regular, and as white as ivory. One instance of this, I met with in Miss M———, a handsome young quakeress, the daughter of the lady at whose house I boarded. If Mr. Moore had had the good fortune to have seen her *ivory teeth*, her *ruby lips*, and *blooming countenance*, he would not have so coolly said—

> "Some cavillers—
> Object to sleep with fellow travellers;
> But Saints protect the *pretty quaker*,
> Heaven forbid that I should *wake her!*"

It must be evident that the accusation has originated in misrepresentation, or calumny; and because some have been found who had indifferent teeth, the whole of the American fair sex

have been branded with a charge that at the utmost can only apply individually. From constant repetition by travellers, who have not taken the trouble to judge for themselves, or to investigate the truth of former accounts, bad teeth have now become, in the opinion of Europeans, a national characteristic of the American ladies; when the fact is, that it is as far removed from the truth as those estimates which we form of the character of a whole nation from the conduct of a few individuals belonging to it. The Englishman is all gloominess and brutality—the Frenchman all amiability and politeness—the German all clownishness and drunkenness—the Spaniard all gravity and haughtiness.—Yet few persons will allow that these are correct characters of those people: on the contrary, whatever they might have been ages past, they are now considered only all vulgar errors. I have been anxious to rescue the American fair from so foul an aspersion, because, as far as I had an opportunity of judging during my stay in the country, I do not think they ever merited it; and I am fully persuaded, that if they do not injure the personal charms which nature has so lavishly bestowed upon them, by the ridiculous vagaries of fashion, improper living, or careless exposure to the vicissitudes of the climate, their appearance will completely refute the illiberal and unhandsome assertions of foreigners.

Much has also been said of the deficiency of the polite and liberal accomplishments among both sexes in the United States. Whatever truth there may have formerly been in this statement, I do not think there is any foundation for it at present, at least in New York, where there appears to be a great thirst after knowledge. The riches that have flowed into that city, for the last twenty years, have brought with them a taste for the refinements of polished society; and though the inhabitants cannot yet boast of having reached the standard of European perfection, they are not wanting in the solid and rational parts of education; nor in many of those accomplishments which ornament and embellish private life. It has become the fashion in New York to attend lectures on moral philosophy, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, mechanics, &c.; and the ladies in particular have made considerable progress in those studies. Many young men, who were so enveloped in business as to neglect or disdain the pursuit of such liberal and polite acquirements, have been often laughed from the counting-house to the lecture-room by their more accomplished female companions. The desire for instruction and information, indeed, is not confined to the youthful part of the community; many married ladies and their families may be seen at philosophical and chemical lectures, and the spirit of

inquiry is becoming more general among the gentlemen. The majority of the merchants, however, still continue more partial to the rule of three, than a dissertation upon oxygen or metaphysics. Most of them have acquired large fortunes by their regular and plodding habits of business, and are loth to part with any portion of it, at their time of life, in the purchase of knowledge, or the encouragement of the arts and sciences. Some, it must be allowed, are exceptions; and others, if they will not partake of instruction themselves, are not sparing of their money, in imparting it to their children. The immense property which has been introduced into the country by commerce, has hardly had time to circulate and diffuse itself through the community. It is at present too much in the hands of a few individuals, to enable men to devote the whole of their lives to the study of the arts and sciences. Farmers, merchants, physicians, lawyers, and divines, are all that America can produce for many years to come; and if authors, artists, or philosophers make their appearance at any time, they must, as they have hitherto done, spring from one of the above professions.

Colleges and schools are multiplying very rapidly all over the United States; but education is in many places still defective, in consequence of the want of proper encouragement, and better

teachers. A grammar-school has recently been instituted at New York, for the instruction of youth, upon a similar plan to the great public schools in England.

A taste for reading has of late diffused itself throughout the country, particularly in the great towns; and several young ladies have displayed their abilities in writing. Some of their novels and fugitive pieces of poetry and prose are written with taste and judgment. Two or three at New York have particularly distinguished themselves. It seems, indeed, that the fair sex of America have, within these few years, been desirous of imitating the example of the English and French ladies, who have contributed so much to extend the pleasures of rational conversation and intellectual enjoyment. They have cast away the frivolous and gossiping tittle tattle, which before occupied so much of their attention, and assumed the more dignified and instructive discourse upon arts, sciences, literature, and moral philosophy.

Many of the young men, too, whose minds have not been wholly absorbed by pounds, shillings, and pence, have shown that they possess literary qualifications and talents, that would, if their time and fortune permitted, rank them among some of the distinguished authors of Europe. The most prominent of their late productions is the *Salma-*

gundi, published in monthly essays at New York. This little work has been deservedly a great favourite with the public, and bids fair to be handed down with honour to posterity. It possesses more of the broad humour of Rabelais and Swift, than the elegant morality of Addison and Steele, and is therefore less likely to become a classical work; but as a correct picture of the people of New York, and other parts of the country, though somewhat heightened by caricature, and as a humorous representation of their manners, habits, and customs, it will always be read with interest by a native of the United States.

A publication called the *Echo* is a smart production of detached poetry, commenced for the purpose of satirizing the vices and follies of the political factions of the day, who broached their revolutionary dogmas through the medium of the public prints. Several other publications of merit have originated in America, and are well known in England. Mr. Barlow's *Columbiad* has lately made its appearance in a very splendid form. It is an enlargement of his vision of Columbus. Upon this poem I shall offer some remarks in the chapter containing biographical notices of the leading public characters of America.

Dancing is an amusement that the New York ladies are passionately fond of, and they are said

to excel those of every other city in the Union. I visited the *City Assembly*, which is held at the City Hotel in the Broadway, and considered as the best in New York. It was the first night of the season, and there was not more than one hundred and fifty persons present. I did not perceive any thing different from an English assembly, except the cotillons, which were danced in an admirable manner, alternately with the country dances. Several French gentlemen were present, and figured away in the cotillons with considerable taste and agility. The subscription is two dollars and a half for each night, and includes tea, coffee, and a cold collation. None but the first class of society can become subscribers to this assembly. Another has, however, been recently established, in which the genteel part of the second class are admitted, who were shut out from the *City Assembly*. A spirit of jealousy and pride has caused the subscribers of the *new assembly* to make their subscription three dollars, and to have their balls also at the City Hotel. It was so well conducted, that many of the subscribers of the City Assembly seceded, and joined the opposition one, or subscribed to both.

Many of the young ladies are well accomplished in music and drawing, and practise them with considerable success; but they do not excel in those acquirements, as they do in dancing. Among

the young men these accomplishments are but little cultivated. Billiards and smoking seem to be their favourite amusements. A segar is in their mouth from morning to night, when in the house, and not unfrequently when walking the street. A box full is constantly carried in the coat pocket, and handed occasionally to a friend, as familiarly as our dashing youths take out their *gold box* and offer *a pinch of snuff*.

Billiards are played with *two* red balls. This is called the *American game*, and differs in no other respect from the mode of playing in England. New York contains several excellent tables.

The style of living in New York is fashionable and splendid; many of the principal merchants and people of property have elegant equipages, and those who have none of their own may be accommodated with handsome carriages and horses at the livery stables; for there are no coach stands. The winter is passed in a round of entertainments and amusements; at the theatre, public assemblies, philosophical and experimental lectures, concerts, balls, tea and card parties, cariole excursions out of town, &c. The American cariole, or sleigh, is much larger than that of Canada, and will hold several people. It is fixed upon high runners, and drawn by two horses in the curricle style. Parties to dinner and dances are frequently made in the winter season when the snow is on

the ground. They proceed in carioles a few miles out of town to some hotel or tavern, where the entertainment is kept up to a late hour, and the parties return home by torch-light.

Marriages are conducted in the most splendid style, and form an important part of the winter's entertainments. For some years it was the fashion to keep them only among a select circle of friends; but of late the opulent parents of the new-married lady have thrown open their doors, and invited the town to partake of their felicity. The young couple, attended by their nearest connexions and friends, are married at home in a magnificent style; and if the parties are episcopalians, the bishop of New York is always procured, if possible; as his presence gives a greater zest to the nuptials. For three days after the marriage ceremony, the new-married couple see company in great state, and every genteel person who can procure an introduction may pay his respects to the bride and bridegroom. It is a sort of levee; and the visitors, after their introduction, partake of a cup of coffee or other refreshment, and walk away. Sometimes the night concludes with a concert and ball, or cards, among those friends and acquaintance who are invited to remain.

Several young ladies in New York have fortunes of a hundred or a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and often bestow their hand upon a fa-

vourite youth who has every thing to recommend him but money. Two or three instances of the kind occurred while I was in the States. I understand that unhappy marriages are by no means frequent; and that parents are not apt to force the inclinations of their children from avaricious motives. Summer affords the inhabitants the diversions of hunting, shooting, fishing, and horse-racing; excursions upon the water, to the island, in the bay, and to Sandy Hook, and a variety of beautiful tours within twenty miles of the city. Among the most distinguished are those of New Utrecht, Rockaway, Islip, the Passaick Falls, and Kingsbridge. A place called Ballston, within two hundred miles of New York, in the interior of the State, contains some mineral springs, and of late years has become a fashionable place of resort for invalids. Like most places of that kind in England, it is visited by the gentry, who go there more for amusement and fashion than to drink the waters. Ballston possesses but few natural attractions, except its mineral springs.

The inhabitants of New York are not remarkable for early rising, and little business seems to be done before nine or ten o'clock. Most of the merchants and people in business dine about two o'clock; others who are less engaged, about three: but four o'clock is usually the fashionable hour for dining. The gentlemen are partial to the

bottle, but not to excess; and at private dinner-parties they seldom sit more than two hours drinking wine. They leave the table, one after the other; and walk away to some tea party, without bidding their host good afternoon. The servants are mostly negroes or mulattoes, some free, and others slaves: but there are many *white* servants of both sexes; and they who expect to see *a pure republican equality* existing in America will find themselves greatly deceived.

The embargo had a considerable effect upon the amusements of the people, and rendered the town gloomy and melancholy. The sailors, however, belonging to the shipping in port had a holiday, and, while their money lasted, amused themselves with fiddling, dancing, and carousing with their girls. Many of them essayed their equestrian powers upon the backs of some gingered rozinantes, which frequently compelled them to make a *somerset* over their horses' heads. I was told of one who carried with him a small grappling-iron; and while the horse was at full speed down one of the streets, he threw out the anchor, which catching hold of the stones, suddenly brought him up, broke his horse's neck, and hurled him a distance of several yards upon the pavement. He was drunk; and as "a drunken man is never in danger," he escaped with little injury.

New York abounds with religious sects of various denominations; but the episcopalians and presbyterians seem to be the most numerous, at least they have more places of worship than any of the others. The quakers form but a small community in this city, and even that is decreasing; for the young people do not appear much inclined to follow up the strict ceremonials of their parents in point of dress and manners. They do not attach much weight to a broad-brim'd hat, nor to the old-fashioned cut of plain coloured clothes. These little aberrations, however, do not bring upon them the public censure of the Friends, unless they are accompanied by visiting plays, dances, and other public amusements; playing at cards, music, &c. for which they are read out of the society. Notwithstanding this excommunication, many still continue to attend the meetings, and, if they afterwards deport themselves in an orderly manner, may be received into the community again.

I attended a meeting of the Friends in Liberty-street one Sunday, in company with the family at our house. I observed that most of the young men did not conform very strictly to the plain dress; but the young ladies appeared, at least outwardly, in the perfect costume of the Quaker; though I had good reason to suspect that many had fashionable muslin dresses underneath their

plain cloaks, that would have made their elders sigh for the degeneracy of the times, had they been exposed to view in their silent conclave. I sat nearly two hours in anxious expectation that the spirit would move one of the Friends to relieve the monotonous silence of this solemn meeting. Only a few words of admonition would have removed the tedium I felt: but not a syllable escaped the lips of any one during the whole of the sitting; and I was so posted in the rear of the brethren, that I had seldom an opportunity of catching a glimpse of the countenances of the lovely young sisters who sat with the rest of their sex on one side of the house. A few of the elders of both sexes were planted opposite to us, for the purpose, I suppose, of being a check upon the looks and motions of the younger branches. After this long and silent cogitation, one of the old Friends got up; I now expected to hear the much-wished-for discourse: but, to my disappointment, he shook the next to him by the hand; which being the signal for a general rising, the meeting broke up. Their thoughts had, no doubt, been employed upon celestial objects; but, for my part, I am sorry to say that mine were continually wandering towards objects of a terrestrial nature.

It is certainly a delicate matter to introduce innovations in the old-established laws of any community, even though they have for their object

its ultimate improvement. Yet I do conceive, if the Quakers were to allow their young people certain innocent amusements, and a slight relaxation in dress, which are at present forbidden, and were to adopt a form of prayer or service, with hymns, &c. agreeable to their tenets, to be read or sung in those intervals when the Friends were unmoved by the spirit, that their society would not diminish as it does at present; for their manners and conduct are so gentle and exemplary, their regulations and form of government so beneficial to the community, that, if they gained no converts, they would lose none of their society. Their doctrine of non-resistance is perhaps carried too far, and is little calculated for this world. But it is necessary that a certain degree of patience and forbearance should be exercised under injuries, without which, human life would become a perpetual state of hostility, from the continual repetition of offences and retaliations, that would succeed each other in endless train.

There are several rich and respectable families of Jews in New York; and as they have equal rights with every other citizen in the United States, they suffer under no invidious distinctions. A story is related of a respectable Jew at New York, who, through the malice of a powerful neighbour, was chosen constable, an office which the former endeavoured in vain to be excused from

serving. The first Sunday of his entering upon his office, he seated himself on a stool before his door, and every servant that went by to fetch water, he took the pails from. He also interrupted, as far as in his power, every kind of work on the *Sabbath day*, and so annoyed his enemy and the rest of the neighbourhood with the severity of his regulations, that they were very glad to substitute another person in his place.

There are about 4,000 negroes and people of colour in New York, 1,700 of whom are slaves. These people are mostly of the Methodist pursuasion, and have a chapel or two of their own with preachers of their colour; though some attend other places of worship according to their inclination. All religious sects in the United States are upon an equal footing, no one has any established prerogative above another; but in any place, on particular occasions, where precedence is given to one over another, the episcopal church, or that sect which is most numerous, generally takes the lead.

In company with a gentleman one evening, I visited a singing-school in Warren-street. Here we found upwards of 150 youths of all ages and sexes present, sitting on forms round the room, with a narrow desk before them to hold their hymn book. They were mostly children of the middling and lower class of people, who were me-

thodists and dissenters of different denominations. A man walked about in the middle of the room and gave out the notes or cadence, with *fa*, *la*, *sol*, &c. afterwards they sung the words from the hymn books. I could perceive that many of the young men and women were more fond of ogling each other, than perusing their books, and several amorous youths appeared to be waiting in the passage, and in the singing-room, to escort their sweethearts home. The teacher has two dollars a year for every scholar. This mode of teaching a style of music that can be adapted nearly to all the hymns that are sung at the meetings and chapels of the different dissenting sects, is common in the United States; but more particularly in the northern and middle parts of the Union. There is consequently a sameness, which does not accord so well with the ear as the sublime music of the episcopal church, and the pleasing variety of many of the dissenting places of worship in England.

Christmas-day and other festivals are observed much in the same manner as in England; but in consequence of there being no established form of worship, as with us, the religious observance of those days is only *recommended* to the people, by a number of the clergy of different denominations, who assemble together and communicate their wishes to the common council, who make them

known to the public. The following is one of their resolutions for Christmas-day 1807.

" IN COMMON COUNCIL.

" *December* 21, 1807.

" The following communication having been received from the reverend clergy of this city:

' A number of the clergy, of different denominations of this city, at a meeting held on Wednesday the 16th inst. having taken into consideration the merciful dispensations of Divine Providence towards this city, during the last season, and also the present aspect of public affairs:

' Resolved, That it is proper to take public and solemn notice of the Divine goodness, and as a people, to implore the continued protection, and those temporal and spiritual blessings, which are so essential to our welfare.

' Resolved, That it be recommended to the several congregations under our pastoral care, to set apart Friday the 25th instant, as a day of solemn *thanksgiving and prayer;* and that, abstaining from all kinds of servile labour and recreations on that day, they come together to acknowledge the mercy of God, in again exempting us from the scourge of pestilence, to praise him for the multiplied favours of his gracious providence, to beseech him to preserve us in peace, and to continue and extend our national prosperity; and

above all, to pray for the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit on our churches, and that we may be favoured with all spiritual and heavenly blessings in Christ Jesus.

'Signed by order of the Meeting,

'JOHN RODGERS, Chairman.'

"Resolved, That the Board unite in the recommendation of the reverend clergy of this city, upon the above occasion, and accordingly *recommend*, that Friday the 25th day of December be observed and set apart as a day of public and special thanksgiving and prayer to Almighty God, for his benevolent dispensations of mercy to this city: and we accordingly *recommend* to our fellow citizens, that they carefully abstain from all recreations and secular employments on that day.

"By the Common Council,

"JOHN PINTARD, Clerk."

New York, Dec. 22, 1807.

The shops were accordingly shut, the people attended public worship, and the day was religiously and strictly observed. I did not, however, understand that roast beef and plum-pudding, turkey and chine, mince pies, &c. smoked on the American tables as they do in England on that festival; though, perhaps, those Americans who yet retain a spice of the English character about

them may continue the good old practice of their ancestors.

New Year's Day is the most important of the whole year. All the complimentary visits, fun, and merriment of the season seem to be reserved for this day, though much is now worn away by the innovations of fashion. Many of the shops are shut up; and the presbyterians, and a few other religious dissenters, attend public worship. The mayor of the city, and others of the constituted authorities, advertise, two or three days before, that they will reciprocate the compliments of the season with the inhabitants at their house on New Year's Day. In consequence of this invitation, I accompanied a gentleman to the mayor's house in Water-street: we found the old gentleman surrounded by his friends and acqaintance. The room was crowded, and the gentlemen were coming in, going out, and taking refreshments at a large table spread out with cakes, wine, and punch. Having paid our respects to his worship, wished him the compliments of the season, a happy new year, and drank a glass of excellent punch, we took our leave.

The bakers, on this day distribute to their customers small cakes made in a variety of shapes and figures; and the newspaper editors greet their readers with a poetical retrospect of the events of the old year: it accords with their political prin-

ciples, and is generally a severe party philippic. New York, like the other large cities of the Union, is a prey to the violent spirit of the two parties, who are known under the titles of federalists and democrats. The newspapers are almost equally divided between the two, to whose views they are of course subservient, and have the effect of keeping up a continual warfare, in which they belabour each other, their rulers, and the English and French nations, without mercy. "Every day," as Mustapha Rubadub observes in Salmagundi, "have these slang-whangers made furious attacks on each other, and upon their respective adherents, discharging their heavy artillery, consisting of large sheets, loaded with scoundrel! villain! liar! rascal! numskull! nincompoop! dunder-head! wise-acre! block-head! jackass! and I do swear by my beard, though I know thou wilt scarcely credit me, that in some of these skirmishes the grand bashaw himself has been woefully pelted! yea, most ignominiously pelted! and yet have these *talking* desperadoes escaped without the bastinado!"

The drinking of toasts at public dinners is a very common method of venting party spleen in America, and of *drinking* destruction to their enemies. The newspapers publish long lists of these toasts the next day, as so many proofs of patriotism and virtue; and take a pride in showing how bril-

liantly their partisans can blackguard public characters in their cups. It was the violent spirit of party that occasioned the duel between General Hamilton and Colonel Burr. Hamilton fell regretted by all parties, and was particularly deplored by the citizens of New York, among whom he resided. Burr escaped, only to become odious in the sight of the whole nation.

Duels are very frequent and fatal throughout the States, and all attempts to prevent them have hitherto failed. At New York, a law was passed to prohibit the sending of challenges, and the fighting of duels, under severe penalties; but it answered no other end than to produce a smart piece of satire on the subject of duels.

CHAPTER XXX.

Leave New York for Charleston—Take Passage in the Calliope—Fellow Passengers—The Irish Knife-grinder—Gun-boats—Quarantine Ground—Sandy Hook — Gulf Stream — Arrival at Charleston — Streets—Houses — Public Buildings—East Bay St. Michael's—The Branch Bank — Charleston Library—The Museum—Poisonous Tree—Pernicious Effects of the Pride of India—Turkey Buzzards—Dead Horses—The Golgotha—Negligence of the Municipality—Public Buildings—The Orphan House—The Theatre—Vauxhall—Anecdote of Mrs. S——. —Unfortunate Courtship—The Market-place—Productions—Price of Provisions, &c.

I HAD now remained at New York upwards of six weeks, during which the weather had been remarkably agreeable. Sometimes it was as mild and open as spring; and at other times diversified with a gentle frost, which suited better with the season. But at length winter began to show itself in its true colours; the snow fell in considerable quantities, and was succeeded by a keen and piercing frost, which crowded the Hudson and

East Rivers with floating ice. This was the period I chose for my emigration to the southward. Like the bird of passage, I had quitted the bleak air of Canada at the approach of winter for the warmer one of New York, where autumn still reigned in "milder majesty." Here I rested for a few weeks, until I was again overtaken by the icy hand of old Winter. This time, however, I was determined to elude his grasp, and on the 9th of January 1808 I went on board one of the regular packets for Charleston in South Carolina.

The vessel was a small brig, called the Calliope, and commanded by Captain Records, who had formerly been an officer in the United States' navy. There were four other passengers in the cabin: one of them, a Mr. Franklin of the New York bank, I had been introduced to the evening before; a circumstance the more agreeable, as it is a better prelude to acquaintance than the casual meeting of strangers on board a ship; and in a foreign country such little intimacies serve to render travelling very agreeable. This gentleman was a native of Nova Scotia, but had resided several years at New York: he was going to Charleston for the recovery of his health, which had been much impaired by the confinement of office. Another of the passengers was also going to avoid the sharp air of New England, and to pass the winter in Charleston for the double purpose of

recruiting his health and collecting some outstanding debts owing to him in that city. This gentleman whose name was Turner, had resided several years at Charleston as a dancing and fencing-master. He had been a captain in the continental army during the American war; but on the return of peace was disbanded, and obliged to take up those professions as the only means of obtaining a livelihood. He was descended from an English family in Essex, and was proud to acknowledge it. His manners were uncommonly pleasant and amusing; and during the whole passage he afforded us great diversion by the facetiousness of his disposition and the number of entertaining anecdotes which he related. The other passengers were, a Mr. Bird, an English gentleman who resided in New York as merchant, and agent for a house in London; and Mr. Wilson, a young American trader belonging to Gennessee county in the state of New York.

These were the whole of the cabin passengers exclusive of myself. But I must not omit to mention a forecastle passenger who messed with the sailors. He was an old Irishman, who had lived many years in the United States, and was now going upon a speculation to Charleston in the itinerant knife and razor-grinding profession. His wheels and other apparatus were stowed away in the long-boat upon deck, and he took up his

quarters in the hold upon some trusses of hay, which served him for a bed. He had for a fellow-passenger *a Horse*, who while the grinder was asleep would frequently devour the *bed* from under him.

We left New York about nine, with the advantage of a fine clear morning and fair wind, to sail through the Narrows. There are three small islands in the bay; the largest of which, called Governor's Island, lies opposite the city to the eastward of the Battery. It consists of about 70 acres of land; and its jurisdiction has been ceded by the State of New York to the United States, for the purposes of public defence. It contains a fortification called Fort Jay; but that, as well as the fort on one of the smaller islands near the Jersey shore, is very inadequate to the defence of such a large and wealthy city.

To the westward of New York, on the Jersey shore, is Powle's Hook. It is a small peninsula intersected with creeks and salt meadows, but of late has been considerably improved by a company who have established themselves for the purpose of building a city, which is to become the capital of the state of New Jersey, and intended to rival New York. A few straggling buildings are all that yet appear. It was on this shore that General Hamilton and Colonel Burr evaded the laws of New York,

and fought the duel which proved fatal to the former gentleman.

As we approached near Staten Island, we were boarded by an officer from one of the gun-boats cruising in the bay. He examined the captain's papers; and being satisfied that we were bound only to a port in the United States, he allowed us to proceed on our voyage. Several instances have occurred of vessels breaking the embargo laws and escaping to the West Indies or Europe. They cannot, however, return while the act is in force, but must trade between foreign places under the protection of an English license, or a French certificate of origin.

We observed a great number of gun-boats at the Quarantine Ground. They are a small despicable craft, built of various sizes, shapes, and figures; some with one mast, others with two: the latter have one mast raking forward, and the other aft, with narrow lug sails; but they do not appear to please the eye of a seaman, for I have never yet heard them spoken of with approbation by any nautical man. They generally carry one gun from 24 to 38-pounder, and from 20 to 30 men, with two or three officers, though their full complement is upwards of 50 men. A part of the crew are artillerymen, who act also as marines. The accommodations on board are very uncom-

fortable; for few of them will admit a man to stand upright, being built broad and shallow, for the purpose of running into shoal water. When they put to sea in blowing weather, the men are constantly wet. They are only fit for smooth and shallow waters as a defence against the armed boats of hostile shipping, but never against the ships themselves; for one broadside from a frigate would sink a dozen of them. The only service in which they have hitherto been of any use is in enforcing the municipal regulations of the United States upon the rivers, harbours, and waters of the Union. They have, however, been sometimes found inadequate even in this easy service; for several vessels have escaped from port since the embargo, and even returned the fire of these insignificant craft.

The Quarantine Ground is situated on the north-east side of Staten Island, and comprizes about thirty acres of land, which was bought by the state of New York about ten years ago for the accommodation of the sick, and for the detention of such vessels as were too foul for admission to the wharfs of the city. The ground is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill; and the neat and commodious appearance of the dwelling-houses, stores, hospitals, &c. is very agreeable, particularly to those who have just arrived from sea. A branch of the custom-house is also stationed here. A short

distance from this place is Signal-hill, where a number of poles are erected to display the public and private signals, which may be seen from the battery at New York. Every merchant has a particular signal to inform him of the arrival of his vessels, long before they come in sight of the town, in the same manner as practised at Liverpool. The land hereabout is considerably elevated, and is divided from Long Island by a small channel called the *Narrows*. A shoal extends nearly one third across the channel towards Staten Island; and from the appearance of the land on both shores, I am led to think that Staten and Long Island were formerly one.

Sandy Hook is a narrow beach running from south to north, about eight miles from the foot of the Neversink Hills. It was formerly connected with the continent; but during the winter of 1804 it was detached from thence, and formed into an island. Small coasting craft can pass through the opening at high water. A noble light-house is erected upon the Hook, and stands about due south from the city-hall of New York. During the American war, the Countess Dowager of Morton erected on the west side of Sandy-hook a fine monument of marble to the memory of her son, Lieutenant Haliburton of the royal navy, who together with a boat's crew, perished there in a snow storm. A few years ago this work of pa-

rental affection was beat down and destroyed by the crew of a French armed ship, in a manner that reflects no honour upon their professional or manly feelings. It was ungenerous to wage war with the dead, or to demolish the works erected to perpetuate their fame.

Towards evening we lost sight of the *Neversink* Hills, and could not help reflecting upon the absurdity of their name, while I beheld their summits *sink* gradually into the ocean as the vessel receded from the coast. On the fourth day we passed the light-house on Cape Hatteras, about four in the afternoon, soon after which it came on to blow with great violence; the wind changed, and by the next morning we found ourselves in the *gulf stream*. The gale continued to increase, and for six-and-thirty hours we lay-to under a double-reefed fore-and-aft main sail, and storm stay-sail. The *gulf stream* is said to be upwards of 100 miles distant from the coast, and is nearly of the same extent in breadth. It makes a circuit through the Gulf of Mexico, round Florida, from whence it runs to the northward as far as the banks of Newfoundland, where it branches off to the eastward. In this stream the sea is almost always violently agitated, and covered with dense vapours; its water is considerably warmer than that of the surrounding ocean, and of a greater depth. The fogs on the banks of Newfoundland are no doubt

in a great measure produced by the gulf stream; and from the rapidity of its currents breaking over such an immense surface of earth as the grand bank, arises that almost constant raging of the ocean peculiar to that place.

On the sixth day the gale moderated; but a heavy sea continued, and prevented us from getting clear of the gulf stream, which had carried us almost back again to the latitude of New York; for it runs upon an average at the rate of three miles an hour. Fortunately for us the weather became more favourable; and by the next morning we were clear of the stream. It was, however, upwards of seven days more before we arrived off Charleston, though its distance from New York is not more than 750 miles, and a passage between the two cities is often made in three or four days.

I was glad to find myself again on shore, after a rough and tedious voyage of fourteen days; though I considered myself somewhat fortunate, for Mr. Welch, who left me at New York, was three weeks on his passage to Charleston. It was now the 23d of January, and a smart frost had prevailed here for two or three days; but no snow had fallen so far to the southward. The weather afterwards became extremely mild, and even rivalled in warmth an English summer.

The site of Charleston nearly resembles that of

New York, being on a point of land at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, and about fifteen miles distant from the light-house. The town is built on a level sandy soil, which is elevated but a few feet above the height of spring tides. The streets extend east and west between the two rivers; and others intersect them nearly at right angles from north to south. From its open exposure to the ocean it is subject to storms and inundations, which affect the security of its harbour. The city has also suffered much by fires; the last, in 1796, destroyed upwards of 500 houses, and occasioned 300,000*l.* sterling damage.

The number of dwelling-houses, public buildings, and warehouses, &c. at present in Charleston, is estimated at 3,500. With the exception of Meeting-street, Broad-street, and the Bay, the streets are in general narrow and confined. They are all unpaved; and in blowing weather, whirlwinds of dust and sand fill the houses, and blind the eyes of the people. The foot paths are all constructed of bricks; but a few years ago not even this convenience existed. It is said that objections have been made to the paving of Charleston, under an impression that it would render the streets hotter: but this must surely be an erroneous idea; for a sandy soil imbibes the heat much quicker, and retains it longer, than a pavement of stone. Yet even if that were not the case, still the delete-

rious effect which the sand, exposed to the action of violent winds, must necessarily have upon the eyes and lungs of the inhabitants, would more than counterbalance the increase of heat that it is *supposed* would accrue from paving the streets. I should, however, rather suspect that it is the expense alone which is objectionable; since the paving of the streets in Philadelphia has rendered that city both healthy and cool, and its salutary effects are obvious to the inhabitants. The drains in Charleston are also too small to carry off the filth and putrid matter which collect from all parts of the town: these, and the numerous swamps and stagnant pieces of water, mud, &c. in the neighbourhood, no doubt tend considerably to the unhealthiness of the place.

The houses in the streets near the water side, including that part of the town between Meeting-street and the street called East Bay, are lofty and closely built. The bricks are of a peculiar nature, being of a porous texture, and capable of resisting the weather better than the firm, close, red brick of the northern states. They are made in Carolina, and are of a dark-brown colour, which gives the buildings a gloomy appearance. The roofs are tiled or slated. In this part of the town the principal shopkeepers and merchants have their stores, warehouses, and counting-houses. Houses here bear a very high rent: those in Broad and Church-

streets for shops, let for upwards of 300*l.* per annum; those along the Bay with warehouses let for 700*l.* and more, according to the size and situation of the buildings. The shipping, as at New York, lie along the wharfs, or in small docks and slips along the town. The wharfs are built of a peculiar sort of wood, called the palmetto or cabbage-tree, the trunk of which is of a spongy, porous substance, and has the quality of being more durable in water, or under ground, than when exposed to the air. This renders it particularly excellent for the construction of wharfs, piers, &c. The embargo had reached Charleston about a fortnight before I arrived; I had not, therefore, an opportunity of judging of its trade from appearances, as every thing was dull and flat, and all business except the coasting trade completely at a stand.

The houses in Meeting-street and the back parts of the town are many of them handsomely built; some of brick, others of wood. They are in general lofty and extensive, and are separated from each other by small gardens or yards, in which the kitchens and out-offices are built. Almost every house is furnished with balconies and verandas, some of which occupy the whole side of the building from top to bottom, having a gallery for each floor. They are sometimes shaded with Venetian blinds, and afford the inhabitants a pleasant cool retreat from the scorching beams of the

sun. Most of the modern houses are built with much taste and elegance; but the chief aim seems to be, to make them as cool as possible. The town is also crowded with wooden buildings of a very inferior description.

Three of the public buildings, and the episcopal church of St. Michael, are situated at the four corners formed by the intersection of Broad and Meeting-streets, the two principal avenues in Charleston. St. Michael's is a large substantial church, with a lofty steeple and spire. It is built of brick cased with plaster. At present it is not in the best state of repair, yet it is no bad ornament to the town. The Branch Bank of the United States occupies one of the other corners. This is a substantial, and, compared with others in the town, a handsome building; but from the injudicious intermixture of brick, stone, and marble, it has a motley appearance. The body is of red brick; the corners, sides, and front, are ornamented and interspersed with stone; pillars of marble adorn the entrance, and a facing of the same covers the front of the ground story. The expense of this building, I understand, was enormous. Another corner of the street is occupied by the gaol, with a court-yard and armoury. This building is no great ornament to the place; but its situation, being nearly centrical in the city, is well adapted to further the regulations of the police. A guard

of about fifty men is maintained by the city, and assembles every evening at the gaol, where it is ready to act in case of disturbance. The men are chiefly foreigners. The negro slaves and servants are not allowed to be out after the beating of the drum at eight o'clock; otherwise they are taken up by the guard when going its rounds, and confined in the gaol. The master or mistress must pay a dollar before they can be liberated, else the offender receives a flogging at the sugar-house.

The fourth corner is occupied by a large substantial building of brick cased with plaster. The ground floor is appropriated to the courts of law; above that are most of the public offices, and the upper story contains the Charleston Library and Museum. The lower parts of the building are much out of repair, but the upper apartments are kept in good order. During my stay, I was allowed free access to the library, having been introduced by a friend to Mr. Davidson the librarian. It was open from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, and I spent many an hour in it very agreeably. The library contains about 4,000 volumes, well selected and arranged. They are mostly modern publications.

The library contains Boydell's elegant edition of Shakspeare, and the large prints are framed, and hung up round the room. The portraits of the king and queen, belonging to that edition, are

placed on either side the door-way leading to the inner room. I was not surprised at the obscurity of their situation, but was astonished to find them exhibited at all; and it is said that some opposition was made to their being put up. There is a large painting, executed by a Mr. White, of Charleston, exhibited in the library, and it is considered a very favourable effort for a young artist. The subject is the murder of Prince Arthur. The countenances of the ruffians are scarcely harsh enough, and their figures are not well proportioned. It is, however, a more successful specimen than could possibly be expected in a place where the arts meet with no encouragement, and where *genius* must resort to agriculture or commerce, to law or physic, if it wishes *to avoid starvation!* Some new casts from the Apollo Belvidere, Venus de Medicis, Venus rising from the sea, &c. were deposited in the library to be exhibited for a short time. They were the property of Mr. Middleton, and had lately arrived from Paris. The library also contains a few natural curiosities, such as fossils, minerals, mammoth bones, snakes, armadilloes, poisonous insects in spirits, &c. and two remarkable deer's horns which were found locked in each other, so as to render it impossible to separate them without breaking. It is supposed that the two animals had been fighting, and had forcibly locked their horns together in the onset, and

being unable to extricate themselves, they both perished. A Museum has been lately established by a gentleman, who occupies a room adjoining the library. His collection at present consists chiefly of birds; and I doubt whether the liberality of the inhabitants will enable him to increase it.

A tree called the *Pride of India* (Melia azedarach) is planted in rows along the foot-paths of the streets in Charleston. It does not grow very high, but its umbrageous leaves and branches afford the inhabitants an excellent shelter from the sun. It has the advantage also of not engendering insects, none of which can live upon it, in consequence of its poisonous qualities. The large clusters of flowers in blossom resemble the lilac; these are succeeded by bunches of yellow berries, each about the size of a small cherry, and like it containing one stone. It is a deciduous tree; but the berries remain on it all the winter, and drop off the following spring.

Notwithstanding the pernicious qualities of this tree, I have seen the cows and swine eat the berries, which often lie upon the ground in large quantities. It is said that cattle, and even birds, are so fond of the fruit, that they frequently extend their bodies by excessive eating, and fall down intoxicated; but I have never heard that they have been poisoned in consequence. Yet I was told by a

gentleman at Savannah, that a friend of his had ascertained its noxious qualities, by steeping a quantity of the leaves in water, with which he watered the plants in his garden that were infested with caterpillars and other vermin, and it killed every one of them. This satisfactorily accounts for the reason why no insect can dwell upon this tree: yet it is singular that the berries and leaves (for it is asserted that cattle eat both, though I have only seen them eat the former,) should not affect those animals and birds which partake so greedily of them; while the mere sprinkling of a decoction of the leaves upon insects will immediately destroy them. The powerful odour which is emitted from these trees, where they are planted numerously, is often sickly and unpleasant; at a distance it is agreeable, but faint. I really think they cannot be advantageous in a populous city. The copious perspiration arising from their leaves, which have been proved to possess a poisonous quality to insects, must inevitably affect the surrounding atmosphere, and, in conjunction with the putrid exhalations from marshes, swamps, filthy bogs, drains, and sewers, in and about the town, cannot fail to accumulate those gross putrescent fluids which cause a variety of irregular, nervous, bilious, remitting, and intermitting fevers. These no doubt ultimately engender that dreadful scourge the *typhus icterodes*, or yellow fever, which is pe-

culiar to Charleston, and is not known to have originated in the interior.

It is said that a decoction of the roots of the Pride of India is an excellent anthelmintic, and is used with much success in worm cases. This, however, will prove nothing against its deleterious qualities in other respects; for it is well known that we make use of a great number of poisonous herbs, and minerals, in medicine. Professor Thunberg, in his Travels to Japan, says, the fruit of this tree was there used like the seeds of the *Rhus succedanea*, for making an expressed oil, which oil grew hard like tallow, and was used for candles. It would be an object worthy of inquiry for the medical gentlemen of Charleston, to ascertain, if possible, whether this tree is beneficial or injurious to the health of the inhabitants. The very advantage for which it is preferred above other trees, appears to me a strong objection against it; for, if it causes the death of those insects which approach it, I do not see how it can be otherwise than hurtful to the human frame constantly imbibing, under a burning sun, the faint and sickly vapours which arise from its wide-spreading foliage.

It is surprising that the inhabitants of Charleston, after what they have suffered from fevers, should allow so many stagnant pieces of water, and filthy bogs, to remain in different parts of

the town and neighbourhood, under the very windows of the dwelling-houses. Surely they might fill them up, and prevent such nuisances from affecting the health of the people, as they cannot fail to do in their present state. The salt marshes and swamps around the town, which are situate so low as to be overflowed at high water, or spring tides, cannot be avoided, though they emit a very disagreeable effluvium at night; yet the other nuisances which I have mentioned might be easily removed.

Another very extraordinary, indolent, or parsimonious neglect of their own health and comfort is, the filthy and brutal practice of dragging dying horses, or the carcases of dead ones, to a field in the outskirts of the town, near the high road, and leaving them to be devoured by a crowd of ravenous dogs and turkey buzzards. The latter are large black birds resembling a turkey both in size and appearance; but from their carnivorous nature they have a most offensive smell. They hover over Charleston in great numbers, and are useful in destroying the putrid substances which lie in different parts of the city: for this reason they are not allowed to be killed. The encouragement of these carrion birds, however useful they may be, is extremely improper; for the people, instead of burying putrid substances, or throwing them into the river, are thus induced to leave

them upon dunghills, exposed to the action of a powerful sun in the hottest seasons, to be destroyed by those birds. The latter, though extremely quick in devouring their dainty morsels, yet do not demolish them before the air is impregnated with the most noxious effluvia, arising from the putrid carcases of dead dogs, cats, horses, &c. I have frequently seen half a dozen dogs and above a hundred turkey buzzards barking and hissing in fierce contention for the *entrails, eyes,* and other *delicate morceaux* of a poor unfortunate horse, whose carcase would perhaps lie so near the side of the road, that, unless passengers were to windward, they ran no little risk from the infectious vapours that assailed their olfactory nerves. A part of the common at the back of the town is a perfect *Golgotha;* where piles of horses' *bones* serve the negro-washerwomen to place their tubs on.

Such neglect on the part of the municipal officers, respecting these nuisances, would be unpardonable in any populous town; but how culpable must it be in a large city, like Charleston, whose local situation is unavoidably unwholesome! Every year increases the fatal experience of its inhabitants; and yet they neglect the only remedies which are acknowledged to be effectual, viz. *a clean town* and *a pure air.* These might be obtained, if not wholly, at least in part, by *paving*

the streets; cleansing and enlarging the common sewers; filling up bogs, ditches, and pools of stagnant filth, with earth; cutting down the poisonous trees which line the streets, and *planting others* possessed of more *wholesome properties; draining the useless marshes* in the neighbourhood, and confining the tide *within certain bounds;* adopting *useful regulations* for the prevention of disease, and maintaining the streets and habitations in a *constant state of cleanness.* The inhabitants are rich enough to carry into execution these improvements, nor would their time and money be spent in vain; for, as the town increased in *healthiness,* so it would increase in *population, wealth,* and *splendour,* and rival, in trade and commerce, the richest cities of the north.

The principal public buildings, besides those which I have already enumerated, are the *exchange,* a large respectable building situated in the East Bay, opposite Broad-street; *a poor-house;* a *college,* or rather grammar-school; a *theatre;* and an *orphan-house.* This latter building is worthy of the city of Charleston. It is built at the back of the town, on the site of an old fortification, which, in the American war, proved the chief defence of the town when besieged by Sir Henry Clinton. The house is an extensive and commodious building of brick, and was erected in 1792. The establishment resembles our asy-

lum for female orphans, except that it is not confined to girls only. It contains about 150 children of both sexes, and the annual expense for provision, clothing, firewood, &c. is about 14,000 dollars, which is defrayed by the legislature of the State of South Carolina. Since its institution, upwards of 1,700 boys and girls have been received into the house. The boys are supported and educated to the age of fourteen, and are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic: the girls are supported and educated until twelve years of age, and are taught the same, besides sewing and spinning. They are then bound out to some respectable citizen for a term of service, and distributed into nine classes; one of which is assigned to each commissioner of the orphan-house, who visits them occasionally, and sees that proper attention is paid to them by the persons to whom they are indented. The girls of this institution spin and card as much cotton (which is given to the institution by charitable persons) as supplies both the boys and girls with summer clothes. On every Sunday morning a suitable discourse is read to the children, by one of the commissioners in rotation, at which time they repeat their catechism; and in the afternoon of that day divine service is performed by some one of the ministers of the gospel from the city or parts adjacent, in a chapel erected adjoining the orphan-house, which is also

open to the inhabitants. As there is no established form of worship in the United States, the episcopal, presbyterian, and independent ministers of Charleston perform service alternately, in the form of their respective persuasions. It was intended to have appointed a regular minister; but there was such a difference of opinion as to what sect he should be chosen from, that the subject was dropped. Baptists and Methodists, &c. are, I believe, excluded from performing service in the orphan house chapel. I attended one Sunday, and heard Dr. Baist, the presbyterian minister. The chapel is small, and was crowded with people: it put me in mind of the Asylum, or Magdalen, in every thing, *except paying for admittance*, which is *dispensed with* at Charleston.

The *theatre* is a plain brick building, situated at the top of Broad-street. It is about the size of our Circus or Surrey theatre, but not so handsomely fitted up. The establishment seems to be at present upon a very indifferent footing, particularly since the embargo, which in the course of a month reduced the performers to *half-pay*. The present manager is a Mr. Placide, who formerly exhibited his nimble capers at Sadler's Wells. He married one of the daughters of Mrs. Wrighten, originally a favourite singer at Vauxhall. She went to America, with many others of our theatrical heroes and heroines, and, like several of them, found an

untimely grave at Charleston. Mr. Hatton of the Haymarket theatre was engaged by the Charleston manager, and arrived in that city early in 1807. In the course of the summer he sung at the Vauxhall gardens, and in a few weeks fell a victim to the yellow fever. Mrs. Hatton had a benefit afterwards at the theatre, and returned home the following spring. Among the female performers Mrs. Woodham is considered in every respect as the best. She possesses youth, beauty, and talents, attractions which never fail to captivate an audience, and consequently she is a great favourite with the Charlestonians. Her husband died while I was in Charleston: he was a performer in the orchestra, but had originally made his appearance on the stage. Mr. Sully is a most excellent comic actor, and trampoline performer. A young gentleman of considerable property, and respectable family, is married to one of his sisters, who was also a performer on the stage.

Mr. Cooper generally performs at the Charleston theatre every summer, and never fails to draw crowded houses even in the most sultry weather. He dashes about in a curricle; and after remaining about a fortnight in the city, he returns to the northward with replenished pockets, if they are not previously emptied by extravagance. A good benefit is reckoned to produce about eight hundred dollars. One side of the theatre is in the

rules of the gaol: which is a very convenient circumstance for the ladies of easy virtue and others who are confined in *durance vile*. I expected to find the Charleston stage well supplied with *sooty negroes*, who would have performed the *African* and *Savage* characters in the dramatic pieces to the life; instead of which the delusion was even worse than on our own stage; for so far from employing *real negroes*, the performers would not even condescend to *blacken* their faces, or dress in any manner resembling an African. This I afterwards learnt was occasioned by motives of *policy*, lest the negroes in Charleston should conceive, from being represented on the stage, and having their colour, dress, manners, and customs imitated by the white people, that they were very important personages; and might take improper liberties in consequence of it. For this reason, also, Othello and other plays, where a black man is the hero of the piece, are not allowed to be performed; nor are any of the negroes or people of colour permitted to visit the theatre. During my stay in Charleston the "Travellers" was performed for Mrs. Placide's benefit; the last act was converted wholly into an *American scene*, and the allusions and claptraps transferred from an *English Admiral* to an *American Commodore*. In this manner most of our dramatic pieces are obliged to be pruned of all their luxuriant compliments to

John Bull, before they can be rendered palatable to American republicans. Some few, however, inadvertently escape the pruning knife of the manager; and I was not a little amused sometimes to hear the praises of my country warmly applauded in the theatre, while whole coffee-houses of politicians would be up in arms at the bare mention of its name.

The garden dignified by the name of Vauxhall is also under the direction of Mr. Placide. It is situated in Broad-street, a short distance from the theatre, surrounded by a brick wall, but possesses no decoration worthy of notice. It is not to be compared even with the common tea-gardens in the vicinity of London. There are some warm and cold baths on one side for the accommodation of the inhabitants. In the summer, vocal and instrumental concerts are performed here, and some of the singers from the theatre are engaged for the season. The situation and climate of Charleston are, however, by no means adapted for entertainments *al fresco*. The heavy dews and vapours which arise from the swamps and marshes in its neighbourhood, after a hot day, are highly injurious to the constitution, particularly while it is inflamed by the wine and spirituous liquors which are drunk in the garden. It is, also, the period of the sickly season when the garden is open for public amusement, and the death of many per-

formers and visitors may be ascribed to the entertainments given at that place.

There are four or five hotels and coffee-houses in Charleston; but, except the Planters' hotel in Meeting-street, there is not one superior to an English public-house. The accommodations at the Planters' hotel are respectable, and the price about twelve dollars a-week. There are several private boarding-houses, from seven to fourteen dollars per week, according to their respectability. A curious anecdote is related of a lady who keeps the best boarding-house in the city. Soon after she became a widow, an old Scotch gentlemen, a merchant of Charleston, paid his addresses to her, and solicited her hand in marriage. The courtship proceeded for a decent length of time, in order that it might not be said she wished to marry before her first "dear man" was cold in his grave. She then very willingly consented to throw off her weeds, and put on the bridal dress. But whether the old gentleman repented of his hasty love, or had some private reason for declining the marriage, I know not: he, however, put off the nuptial ceremony from time to time until his fair inamorata became impatient, and demanded the fulfilment of his promise, which it seems the old gentleman had unluckily given. He was now under the necessity of coming to an *eclaircissement*, and positively refused to marry her, giving

as a reason that he understood she was rather *too fond of the bottle.* This false and scandalous accusation highly incensed the lady; and finding that he was going to reside in England, she disposed of her house and property, and followed him to London, where she commenced an action against him for breach of promise, and for defamation. The damages were laid at several thousand pounds, and eminent counsel were retained for the cause. The old gentleman finding himself so closely pressed, and likely to be a great loser by his unfortunate courtship, would have willingly married her rather than have to pay such enormous damages. This would very likely have taken place, for the lady herself was by no means hard-hearted, and might perhaps have taken the old spark to her bed, had not a keen relation of his, who probably was looking forward to a snug little legacy, said to him: "*Why, mon, would you disgrace the blood of the M'Cl——s?*" and offered to settle the dispute with the spirited widow. Matters were accordingly adjusted in an amicable manner: the lady withdrew her action, and the old gentleman paid her 700*l.* and all expenses. She afterwards returned to Charleston, and opened a very handsome boarding-house, which is resorted to by all the fashionable strangers who arrive in the city. The old gentleman has visited Charleston

several times since to recover his outstanding debts and property, and I dare say never passes her house without a sigh for the loss of both wife and cash.

Charleston contains a handsome and commodious market-place, extending from Meeting-street to the water-side, which is as well supplied with provisions as the country will permit. Compared, however, with the markets of the northern towns, the supply is very inferior both in quality and quantity. The beef, mutton, veal, and pork, of South Carolina are seldom met with in perfection; and the hot weather renders it impossible to keep the meat many hours after it is killed. Large supplies of corned beef and pork are brought from the northern states. Though the rivers abound with a great variety of fish, yet very few are brought to market. Oysters, however, are abundant, and are cried about the streets by the negroes. They are generally shelled, put into small pails, which the negroes carry on their heads, and sold by the measure: the price is about 8*d.* per quart. Vegetables have been cultivated of late years with great success, and there is a tolerable supply in the market. The long potatoe is a great favourite with the Carolinians. There are two kinds, which differ in nothing but the colour. When boiled, they eat sweet, and mealy, resembling very much a boiled

chesnut. Apples, pears, and other fruit are very scarce, being only brought occasionally from the northern states. In summer Charleston is tolerably well supplied with the fruits peculiar to southern climates; and large quantities of pine apples, &c. are brought from the West Indies. Wild ducks, geese, turkeys, and other fowl, are brought to market by the country people, though not in very great abundance.

The expense of living at Charleston may be estimated from the following table of commodities, the prices of which are in sterling money. Bread about 3*d.* per lb., butter 7*d.*, cheese 6*d.*, beef 5*d.*, mutton 6*d.*, veal 8*d.*, oysters 8*d.* per quart, Hyson tea 6*s.* per lb., coffee 1*s.* 6*d.*, Havannah sugar 6*d.*, Louisiana sugar 6½*d.*, loaf sugar 1*s.*, brandy 7*s.* per gallon, Jamaica rum 7*s.*, New England rum 3*s.* 6*d.*, Hollands 7*s.*, Malaga wine 5*s.* 10*d.*, Claret 12*s.* per dozen, spermaceti oil 5*s.* 3*d.* per gallon, lamp oil 3*s.*, Florence oil 3*s.* per pint. Bottled porter, from London, 2*s.* 3*d.* per bottle. House rent from 30*l.* to 700*l.* per annum, boarding at taverns and private houses from a guinea and a half to three guineas per week, washing 3*s.* 6*d.* per dozen pieces, a coat from 5*l.* 10*s.* to 8*l.*, other apparel in proportion; hair-cutting 3*s.* 6*d.*, hire of a horse for a couple of hours 5*s.* for the afternoon 10*s.*, hire of a gig

15*s*. Though liquor and many other articles are reasonable when purchased in any quantity, yet they are retailed at the taverns and small spirit-shops at an exorbitant rate. Hence a glass of brandy or rum and water is never sold for less than half a dollar; and every thing else in proportion.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Population of Charleston—Society—The Planters—Extravagance and Dissipation—Money Lenders—Long Credit—Charleston Races—Jockey Club—Race Course—Balls and Concerts—Amusements of the People—Rifle Shooting—Duelling—Sullivan's Island—Outrages at Charleston—Riots among the Sailors—Consequences of the Embargo—American Seamen enter the British Service.

THE present population of Charleston is reckoned about 28,000: of this number, not more than 7,000 are whites, the rest are negroes and people of colour, the majority of whom are slaves. The following statement will exhibit the progressive increase of population in the State of South Carolina since its settlement in 1670.

Years.	White People.	Blacks & Mulattos.	Total.
1670	A small colony sent over under Governor Sayle.		
1700	5,500	——	5,500
1721	14,000	——	14,000
1723	14,000	18,000	32,000
1734	7,333	22,000	29,333
1765	40,000	90,000	130,000
1792	140,178	108,895	249,073
1800	196,255	149,336	345,591
1808	250,000	200,000	450,000

Charleston has been described as the seat of hospitality, elegance, and gaiety. Whatever it may boast of the former, it is certain there was very little of the latter on my arrival in that city, though it was the season for amusements. But the fatal fever which had prevailed the preceding autumn, and carried off great numbers of the people, added to the general stagnation of trade occasioned by the embargo, seemed to have paralysed the energies and damped the spirits of the inhabitants, and prevented them from partaking of those entertainments and diversions to which they were accustomed at that season of the year.

Genteel society in Charleston is confined to the planters, principal merchants, public officers, divines, lawyers, and physicians.

The planters are generally considered as the wealthiest people in the state. This may be true with respect to their landed property and slaves: but they are not the most moneyed people; for, except upon their annual crops of rice and cotton, which produce various incomes from 6,000 to 50,000 dollars, they seldom can command a dollar in cash, and are besides continually in debt. The long credit which merchants and traders throughout Charleston are obliged to give the planters and other people of property in the state, is the subject of universal complaint among the former; and whatever credit the Carolinians may deserve for

their "unaffected hospitality, affability, ease of manners, and address," so flatteringly mentioned in every edition of Morse's Geography, yet the payment of their debts can never be reckoned among their virtues.

When they receive money in advance for their crops of cotton or rice, it is immediately squandered away in the luxuries of fashion, good eating and drinking, or an excursion to the northern states; where, after dashing about for a month or two with *tandems*, *curricles*, *livery servants*, and *outriders*, they frequently return home in the *stage coach* with scarcely dollars enough in their pocket to pay their expenses on the road. If their creditors of ten or a dozen years standing become very clamorous, a small sum is perhaps paid them in part, unless the law interferes, and compels them to pay the whole debt and as much for costs. Thus the planter proceeds in his career of extravagance, which in the midst of riches renders him continually poor. With an estate worth 200,000 dollars he has seldom a dollar in his pocket but what is borrowed upon an anticipated crop: hence it may be truly said that he lives only from hand to mouth.

In the town of Charleston, where they for the most part have handsome houses, they live for the time being like princes: and those strangers who visit the city at that period, and have the means of

being introduced at their houses, are sure to meet a hearty welcome. Every article that the market can supply is to be found at their festive board. The wine flows in abundance, and nothing affords them greater satisfaction than to see their guests *drop gradually under the table* after dinner. Hospitality is indeed their characteristic as long as the cash lasts: but when that is gone they retire to their plantations. There they are obliged to dispense with the luxuries, and often with the comforts, which they enjoyed in town. Every thing is made subservient to the cultivation of cotton and rice for the next year's round of dissipation. With hundreds of slaves about them, and cattle of various kinds, they are often without butter, cheese, and even milk, for many weeks. Fodder is frequently so scarce, that the cows, horses, &c. look half starved, and are driven into the pine barrows and woods to pick up a few mouthfuls of rank grass. The habitations of many of the planters are also in a dilapidated state, and destitute of the comforts and conveniences of domestic life. As to their negro-huts, they frequently defy all description.

This mode of living among the planters, of which the brilliant side only is exposed to public view, is followed more or less by most of the gentry in Charleston, and has led strangers to give them the character of a free, affable, and generous

people. Others, however, who have had better opportunities of judging of their real character, charge them with ostentation, and a haughty supercilious behaviour. These opposite qualities, no doubt, attach individually to many of the inhabitants, and most perhaps to the planters, who, it is natural to suppose, consider themselves in a more elevated and independent situation than the merchants who dispose of their produce, or the traders who furnish them with the necessaries of life. Hence they may be somewhat tinctured with that pride and haughtiness with which they are charged. At the same time their free and extravagant style of living, their open and friendly reception of strangers and visitors at their table, have no doubt won the hearts of those who have partaken of their good cheer, and established that excellent character which is said to be predominant among them.

Unlike the farmer and merchant of the northern states, who are *themselves* indefatigably employed from morning to night, the Carolinian lolls at his ease under the shady piazza before his house, *smoking segars* and drinking *sangoree ;* while his numerous slaves and overseers are cultivating a rice swamp or cotton field with the sweat of their brow, the produce of which is to furnish their luxurious master with the means of figuring away for a few months in the city, or an excursion to the north-

ward. Property thus easily acquired is as readily squandered away; and the Carolinian, regarding only the present moment for the enjoyment of his pleasures, runs into extravagance and debt.

Where there are numerous borrowers, there will always be plenty of lenders; and many of the more shrewd and saving moneyed people of Charleston are ever ready to accommodate the rich, the gay, and the extravagant, with loans upon *good* security. Even some of the *divines* in that city *are not ashamed* to take an active part in money-lending; and while they are preaching to their creditors the necessity of laying up a store in heaven, "*where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt*," they are busily employed in laying up for themselves a store of the good things *of this world.* How seldom is it that precept and example are united in the same person!

The merchants, traders, and shopkeepers of Charleston are obliged to lay a profit, frequently of 150 or 200 per cent. and more, upon their goods, for the long credit which the gentry are accustomed to take. Where they meet with good payments, they seldom fail to realize an independent fortune; for they sell nothing under 50 per cent., even for ready money: but it often happens that, after they retire from business, they have a number of debts to collect in. I met with several Scotch gentlemen at Charleston and Savannah, who had

retired from business at those places, and resided in their native country, but were obliged to make frequent voyages to America to recover the remainder of their property. This is the case with most of those who have been in business in the towns of the southern states; but where one succeeds, twenty are ruined. Captain Turner, my fellow-passenger in the packet, told me that he had debts owing to him of twenty years' standing, even by parents and their children, whose dancing had never been paid for by either generation.

Notwithstanding the vast sums of money lavished away by the planters and gentry of South Carolina, their equipages do not equal those of the northern states. They have certainly a greater number of slaves to attend them, but their coaches, carriages, and chaises, and mostly old and shabby. They have some excellent horses; but in general they are badly broke in, and will start and fly at almost every object they meet. Horse-racing is a favourite amusement with the Carolinians, though more discountenanced than formerly, many families having suffered greatly by the gambling bets made at the races. The Charleston races were held during my stay in that city. They commenced on Wednesday the 17th of February, and finished on the Saturday following. The *first* day, seven horses ran for a purse of 600 dollars; the *second* day, five for 400 dollars; the third

day, three for 300 dollars; and the last day, a handicap purse of about 500 dollars was run for by all the horses that were distanced the preceding days. The race-course is about a mile and and half from the city, on a fine level piece of ground, a full mile in circumference. Four-mile heats are run for, by American-raised horses, and generally performed in eight minutes, though on the second day of the races this year one of the heats was performed in seven minutes.

The races are under the direction of a jockey-club, from whose fund the purses which are run for are prepared. The second day of the races was uncommonly hot for the month of February. The thermometer stood at 82° in the shade, and the number of horses and vehicles of every description, passing to and from the race-ground, made the dust and sand fly about in clouds. The admittance to the race course was half a dollar for horses, and a dollar for carriages. There was not so large a concourse of people on the race-ground as I expected to see, and I was told that the races were very thinly attended. From the dullness of the times, the planters were short of cash, and many would not come into town. The purses were therefore poor, and few bets were made. But the preceding year, a purse of 1,000 dollars was run for, and two or three young ladies entered into the spirit of horse-racing with as

much eagerness as the men. They sent their own horses to run, and betted with each other to a considerable amount.

Several large booths were fitted up at one end of the race-ground, and handsome cold collations of meat, poultry, and salads, were laid out on long tables for the accommodation of those who chose to dine there after the races. The day I was there, there were only two four-mile heats, and they were over before two o'clock. The gentry then returned to town, and spent the day in dinner parties, and the evening in balls and concerts. The middling and lower classes of the people remained on the ground, and diverted themselves with some hack races; after which they repaired to the booths, and finished the day in humble imitation of their superiors. A number of sailors enjoyed themselves with their girls, in the smaller booths; and the negroes, with their dingy misses, came in for a share of the fun. At night they all came reeling into town, well charged with wine, rum-punch, gin sling, and sangoree.

The period of the races, though short, was the only time that Charleston appeared to be enlivened during my residence there. There were no public entertainments, except occasional plays, and a concert once a fortnight; and they were so slightly attended, that the performers at the theatre were put on half-pay, and the concerts were with dif-

ficulty maintained. Private parties were also greatly abridged, and the town seemed to be enveloped in gloomy despondence. This was the natural effect of the stagnation of trade created by the embargo, which compelled the planters to sell their produce for less than one-half the usual price; and it was not always they could find purchasers, even on those conditions; as none, except a few speculating individuals from New York and Boston, would lay out their money in cotton and rice, which frequently became a mere drug in the merchants' stores.

Hunting, shooting, fishing, and riding, are more or less the diversions of the Carolinians throughout the state. They are generally excellent shots, and a good rifleman will be sure of a deer, or wild turkey, at 150 yards. A huntsman with a smooth-barrelled gun will kill a deer at his utmost speed at the distance of near 100 yards. In the lower country, deer-hunting is the favourite amusement of the country gentlemen. For this purpose they associate in hunting clubs once a fortnight or month, besides their own private sport. The bays and woods afford a great plenty of this game; and when the deer are roused by the hounds, they are either shot down immediately by the gentlemen who are stationed on either side the bays, or they meet their fate at the different stands by which the deer direct their course, and to which the

huntsmen had previously repaired. Double-barrelled guns are mostly used in these cases, loaded with buck shot, and sometimes with single ball; and so excellent is the skill of many persons accustomed to this mode of hunting, that a deer has been often killed by each barrel of the gun, as soon as they could be successively discharged. Sometimes the deer are seen in flocks of eight or ten in number; and as many as four or five have been killed in a single hunting of a few hours. The country gentlemen do not enter much into the sport of fowling, Carolinians generally preferring riding to walking; and when game of this kind is wanted for family use, they for the most part send out a servant to procure it.

In the upper part of the State, the young men are particularly expert at rifle-shooting; and articles instead of being put up at vendue are often shot for, with rifles, at a small price each shot, which is a more useful and honourable mode than the practice of raffling adopted in the lower country. This method of disposing of goods is worthy of imitation in England, and would soon render the people excellent marksmen. Although a riding-master is little known in Carolina, yet the people are generally good horsemen, and make their way through thick woods with surprising dispatch. This is effected by allowing boys at

the age of seven or eight years to commence riding, either to school or elsewhere; and soon after they are allowed the use of a gun, from which they in a few years become expert huntsmen.

The Carolinians are all partial to riding, and even in Charleston few ladies venture to walk. They are seldom seen out of doors, except in their coach or chaise. This renders the streets of that city very gloomy to a stranger who has been used to the *Bond-street* of London, the *Rue St. Honoré* of Paris, or the *Broadway* of New York, where so many lovely forms continually fleet before his eye. Many of the ladies of Charleston are, however, not inferior in beauty and accomplishments to the ladies of the Northern States, though they labour under the disadvantage of an unhealthy climate. If the younger part of society have failings different from others, they may be attributed to their unavoidable intercourse with the slaves, by whose milk they are frequently nourished, and in the midst of whom they are generally educated. Parents are often too indulgent, and will frequently suffer their children to tyrannize over the young slaves, one or two of whom are usually appropriated to the use of each of the planter's children, and become their property. Hence they are nurtured in the strongest prejudices against the blacks, whom they are

taught to look upon as beings almost without a soul, and whom they sometimes treat with unpardonable severity.

From having their early passions and propensities so much indulged, the young Carolinians are too apt to acquire a rash, fiery, and impetuous disposition, which renders them incapable of comprehending Shakspeare's admirable definition of *honour:*

"Not to be captious, not unjustly fight;
"'Tis to confess what's wrong, and do what's right."

Private quarrels frequently disgrace the public prints: challenges are sent; and if refused, the parties are posted as "*prevaricating poltroons and cowards.*" A few months before I arrived, a duel took place between two young gentlemen of respectable families, which terminated in the death of both. There is, perhaps, no country in the world where duels are so frequent as in the United States. During my short stay of six months in that country, there were upwards of *fourteen* fought which came to my knowledge; and *not one* of them in which the parties were not either *killed* or *wounded.* Since my departure, I heard of a duel having been fought with *rifles* at only *seven* paces distance, in which two young men, whose families were of the highest respectability, were *both killed* on the spot. Such acts of desperation would lead one to suspect that the

Americans were a blood-thirsty people; for they might satisfy their false honour at a greater distance from each other, and with less determinate marks of revenge. Duels are frequent and disgraceful enough in England; but they are far exceeded in the United States, where young men are in the habit of *training* themselves up as duellists. How much is it to be regretted that the admirable example of Marshal Turenne is not followed by those who conceive themselves injured! The man who fights a duel is a *coward*, compared with him who braves the *false opinion* of the world.

The amusements in Charleston during the hot months of the year are very few. The Vauxhall garden is the only public place of recreation, and that by no means safe after a sultry day. For two or three months during the sickly season, the genteel people shut themselves up in their houses, or retire to Sullivan's Island, situate in the harbour about six miles below the city. On this island a settlement has been effected called *Moultrieville*, after Major-general William Moultrie, who from a fort on the island in 1776 frustrated the attempt of a British naval armament under the command of Sir Peter Parker. Its commencement was about the year 1791, when the legislature passed an act, permitting people to build there on half-acre lots; subject to the condition

of their being removed, whenever demanded, by the governor or commander-in-chief. Almost every part of the island, which is nearly three miles long, is now occupied, and contains upwards of two hundred dwelling-houses, besides kitchens and out offices. This place is little resorted to during the winter and spring; but in the summer and autumn numbers of people reside there, for pleasure or health; and packet boats are plying, at all hours, between it and Charleston. Along the hard beach of this island, its inhabitants enjoy the amusements of riding or walking; while the ocean incessantly breaks its waves at their feet, and vessels pass within two or three hundred yards of the shore.

There are a great number of Jews settled in Charleston; and they live principally in King-street, where their shops are crowded together, and exhibit as motley a collection of clothing and wearing apparel as can be found in Houndsditch or Rag-fair. They are sufficiently numerous to have a synagogue; and one company of the volunteer militia is formed entirely of Jews. They are, as is the case in most countries, moneyed people: and on their sabbaths the young Jewesses walk out in fine flowing dresses, that would better suit the stage or ball-room than the street.

I saw only one Quaker in Charleston, and he is as remarkable for the singular plainness of his

dress as the large property which he possesses. Of the traders and shopkeepers settled in Charleston, a great number are Scotch, who generally acquire considerable property, by close and persevering habits of industry; after which, they most commonly return to their native country. There are also several Irish traders, but their number is far inferior to the Scotch.

At the period when the Americans were so much exasperated against Great Britain, in consequence of the attack upon the Chesapeake frigate, the British subjects throughout the States were in an awkward predicament, and for some time were under the necessity of keeping within doors, until the fury of the populace was somewhat abated. In Charleston, the inhabitants committed great excesses; and it was not merely the lower order of people who were concerned in them, but many, otherwise respectable, house-keepers. All the American inhabitants wore pieces of crape round their arms, as mourning for the sailors killed in the action; and ducked under the pumps all who refused to comply with that mark of respect for their deceased countrymen. The Scotch people, however, held out firmly against their threats, and some were in consequence severely handled by the mob. The outrages went to such a length, that proscription lists were made out, and not only several Scotchmen, but many

of the American federalists, who viewed the business more as an aggression on the part of the United States, than by England, were beset in their houses by the populace, and vengeance demanded upon their heads. The reign of terror commenced, and self-appointed committees were deputed to wait on suspected persons. One merchant and his son barricadoed themselves in their house, while the rest of the family were employed in making cartridges. The populace surrounded their dwelling; but the gentleman and his son declared that, if they attempted to force the doors, they would immediately fire upon them.

This violent ferment at length subsided: but the Scotchmen are of opinion, that if the Intendant of Charleston had not been a federalist, most of them would have been put to death. The conduct of one of them was, however, extremely reprehensible. He dressed a *dog* and a *goat* up in crape, to ridicule the people. They could not catch him for some time, as he kept within doors: but one morning about six o'clock they knocked at his door, which being opened, they rushed in, dragged him into the street, and carried him to a pump, where they ducked him so unmercifully, that he took to his bed, and died in the course of the following month, it being then the commencement of the sickly season.

While I remained in Charleston, there was con-

siderable alarm on account of the depredations which were said to be committed by the sailors at night. There were upwards of one thousand in the city, who since the embargo had become very riotous, having no employ; and several were absolutely destitute of lodging and food, their landlords having turned them out after their money was gone. They paraded the streets several nights in large bodies, and the city guard was obliged to be strengthened. Some robberies were committed, and two or three negroes murdered, so that it became dangerous to be out at dark. The corporation at length published a proclamation, forbidding, under pain of imprisonment, any sailor to be out of his lodging-house after seven o'clock: they also advertised, that any sailor who was destitute of employment might go on board the Hornet sloop, and gun-boats belonging to the United States, where they should receive provisions, and be at liberty to quit the vessel when they chose. Not above *sixteen* accepted the offer, and several of them soon returned on shore again, in consequence of some smart *floggings* which they met with on board the Hornet. In the course of a week or two, the English Consul advertising that British seamen might have a free passage home in the British ships that were going to Europe, upwards of four hundred availed themselves of the offer, and sailed for England.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Servants at Charleston—Slaves—Slave Trade—Slave Merchants—The Bargain Buyer—Observations upon the Slave Trade—The Treatment of Africans—Refined Cruelty—People of Colour and Mulattoes—Negro Characteristics—Religious Fanaticism—Methodist Preachers pelted in their Pulpits—Manners of the Negroes—An Anecdote of a Negro and his Wife—Their intrepid Death—Religion—Service of the Episcopal Churches in the United States—Methodist Meetings—Marriages—Funerals—Novelty of an Undertaker's Profession in Charleston—Charitable Societies—Free-Masons.

THERE are no white servants in Charleston. Every kind of work is performed by the negroes and people of colour. Those who are unable to give 500 or 600 dollars for a slave, which is the usual price of a good one, generally hire them, by the month or year, of people who are in the habit of keeping a number of slaves for that purpose. Many persons obtain a handsome living by letting out their slaves for 6 to 10 dollars per month. They also send them out to sell oysters,

fruit, millinery, &c.; or as carmen and porters. The slaves who are brought up to any trade or profession are let out as journeymen, and many of them are so extremely clever and expert, that they are considered worth two or three thousand dollars.

The slaves in Charleston, employed as domestic servants, or mechanics, are mostly those born in the state; the new negroes from Africa being generally purchased for the plantations in the country. The former have more vices than the latter; and where they are living under persons who have only hired them, they are often lazy and impertinent, and give their employers a great deal of trouble. They conceive they are labouring only for strangers, and are careless in what manner they perform their work. In consequence of the troubles in St. Domingo, a great number of negroes and people of colour have been brought to Charleston by their masters and mistresses. Most of them have been sold to the Americans, or received their freedom. The women are distinguished from the rest by their coloured handkerchiefs tastily tied about their heads, the smartness of their dress, and long flowing shawls, or muslin handkerchiefs thrown carelessly over their shoulders *à la Françoise*.

It appears by the estimate given in the preceding chapter, that the slaves, free negroes, and people of colour, are very numerous in South

Carolina, yet are not equal to the number of white inhabitants of the whole state. But it is only in the low swampy parts of the country that they are wanted, and there they far outnumber the white population. In the city of Charleston, for instance, their number amounts to 21,000, and the whites only to 7,000. In the northern parts of the state very few slaves are to be found; the farmers cultivate the ground themselves, with the assistance of their own families; but towards the sea coast it would be impossible for the whites to cultivate the swamps and marshes without the aid of negroes.

The importation of Africans into the United States ceased by law on the 1st of January 1808; and several vessels which arrived with slaves after that period were seized, and their cargoes condemned. For the four preceding years, however, the merchants had prepared for the abolition of the slave trade; and such large importations took place, that the market was completely glutted. The following are the numbers imported into Charleston up to the 1st January 1808:

1804 . . .	5,386
1805 . . .	6,790
1806 . . .	11,458
1807 . . .	15,676
	39,310

When I arrived the sales for slaves were extremely dull, owing to the high price which the merchants demanded for them. The planters, who were pretty well stocked, were not very eager to purchase; and the merchants, knowing that a market would ultimately be found for them, were determined not to lower their demands: in consequence of which hundreds of these poor beings were obliged to be kept on board the ships, or in large buildings at Gadsden's wharf, for months together. The merchants, for their own interest I suppose, had them properly attended to, and supplied with a sufficiency of provisions; but their clothing was very scanty, and some unusually sharp weather during the winter carried off great numbers of them. Close confinement and improper food also created a variety of disorders; which, together with the dysentery and some cutaneous diseases to which the negroes are subject, considerably increased the mortality. Upwards of seven hundred died in less than three months, and carpenters were daily employed at the wharf in making shells for the dead bodies. A few years ago, when a similar mortality took place, the dead bodies of the negroes, to save expense, were thrown into the river, and even left to be devoured by the turkey buzzards; in consequence of which nobody would eat any fish, and it was upwards of three

months before the corporation put a stop to the practice.

These losses, instead of abating the price, served only to increase it; and many were put up at vendue, where, according to their age, size, and condition, they sold for from three to six hundred dollars each. The auctioneers live all in one street near the water-side, in East Bay. They have vendues twice a-week, and the place is then like Babel: crowds of people bidding for dead and live stock, among which negroes and people of colour are constantly seen; brokers praising the good qualities of their commodities, and knocking them down to the best bidder. One morning I had a hearty laugh at the expense of a woman who had purchased a female slave at one of these auctions. The brokers are obliged to state the reason for selling the negroes, or give a bill of sale warranting them sound. The girl in question had been lately imported; and, as the auctioneer declared, it was intended to have shipped her off with several others for New Orleans: but that in *her condition* (pointing to a certain protuberance in front) it was thought most adviseable to put her up at vendue. The poor girl appeared to be about sixteen, seemed very unwell, and had no other covering than a dirty blanket. She was placed upon a table by the side of the auctioneer; who frequently turned her round to the bidders, to show her make and

figure. He would also, at times, open her mouth and show her teeth, much in the same style as a jockey would exhibit the mouth of a horse for the inspection of his customers. From the manner in which he described her situation I really believed at first that she was in the *family way*, a condition which always enhances the value of a slave: but on looking more earnestly at the girl, the protuberance seemed to be rather too high for such a state. One woman, however, who appeared very eager to purchase, outbid the rest, and gave 150 dollars for her, under the full persuasion that the girl was *with child*, and of course a great bargain at that price. The auctioneer also assured her, that she had been sold for less than half her real value. The girl got down from the table with much difficulty, and the woman went with her into the auction-room (for the sales are made in the street before the door). She was eager to examine the quality of the commodity which she had bought; when, to her infinite mortification, upon taking off the blanket, she discovered that the girl, instead of being with child, had got the *dropsy*. She immeately wanted the auctioneer to take her back; but he was too keen, and declared that it was a just and fair sale; for the truth of which he appealed to the by-standers. It was not his fault, he said, if the lady had been deceived by appearances; it was too often the case: but he declared that he

had stated her real situation, which was, that she was not in a condition to be sent on a long voyage, and he still maintained that that was the only defect she was sold for. "*For any thing*," says the auctioneer, "*that I know to the contrary, the girl may be with child; but the lady is certainly the best judge.*"

All except the unfortunate purchaser laughed heartily at the trick. One advised her to send for Dr. De Bow immediately, and have the girl tapped; another was of opinion, that she had better send for a carpenter to make a coffin; and a third declared, she was heartily glad the woman had been taken in, as she was always so fond of buying *bargains;* and would be bound to say, that she would not go to the expense of a dollar to save the girl's life.

I quitted this traffic in human flesh with disgust; though I could not refrain from laughing at the archness of the auctioneer, and the credulity of the bargain-buyer. In most countries people are fond of purchasing what they call *bargains,* which, as Sterne says, is only the buying of a *bad* commodity that you don't want, because you can get it *cheaper* than a *good one* when you do!

A great deal has been said for and against slavery; and, as Sir Roger de Coverly observes, "it is a subject upon which much may be said on both sides." Those whose interests are affected by it

are of course its supporters; and those who see it only with a philanthropic eye are its natural opponents. In a political point of view, we may now suppose that it is completely exploded by Great Britain and the United States. Whether the abolition of the slave-trade will continue, is at present doubtful; for large supplies of Africans seem to be absolutely necessary for certain parts of the possessions of both nations. Neither the sugar plantations of the West Indies, nor the rice swamps, tobacco and cotton plantations of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, can be cultivated without them. The negro can, uncovered, stand the sun's meridian heat, and labour his appointed time, exposed to the continual steam which arises from low and swampy grounds, while a white man can barely support himself under the shade, surrounded by such a relaxing and unhealthy atmosphere. The negro can work for hours in mud and water, (which he is obliged to do in the cultivation of rice, in ditching and draining) without injury to himself, whilst to a white this labour would be almost instant death. In fact, the Africans are now become as necessary in those parts of the world as beasts of burthen are to Europeans. It is to be lamented that the slave-trade was ever introduced; for, had it not, the whites would have neglected the unhealthy spots which they now occupy, and have confined them-

selves to places more congenial to their constitutions. How many millions of acres in the world far superior in every respect to those parts where Africans are indispensable, are still covered with immeasurable forests that have never yet echoed to the stroke of the woodman's axe!

It were indeed to be wished, that the present stock of Africans would answer the purpose of the planters by their domestic population, instead of rendering fresh importations requisite. It is natural to suppose, that the planters would find it their interest to promote the health and comfort of their negroes for that purpose; and in many instances it is so, but others have too often afforded proofs of a contrary disposition. The flagrant abuses which have been committed on the African slaves have ultimately led to the melioration of their condition, and at length to the total abolition of the trade. The negroes appear to be formed for servitude, and require the strict but merciful hand of a master, otherwise they are apt to take unwarrantable liberties. If treated well, they are faithful and affectionate; nor do I see how it can be the interest of the master to treat them otherwise: but a violent temper does not always study its own interest; and we have unfortunately had too many instances of white people disgracing themselves by barbarities that would sully the character of a New Zealand savage. Even

some of the ladies of Charleston, I am told, have been known to exercise the *cowskin* with considerable dexterity upon the naked backs of their slaves. I never had an opportunity of seeing one of those delicate instruments of flagellation called *cowskins;* but from what I have heard I imagine it is of the same nature as that used by the Turks when they *bastinade* an offender; though it is there distinguished by a very different *name.* One instance of refined cruelty I should have sincerely hoped, for the sake of humanity, had been false, or misrepresented, but I am sorry to say there is no reason to doubt its authenticity. A lady at Sullivan's Island is said to have assisted her husband in whipping their negro to such a degree, that his back was completely raw: not thinking he had been sufficiently punished, they applied a pickle of *pepper and salt* to his wounds, and the miserable wretch died a few hours after in the most excruciating tortures. What his offence was I know not, but nothing could justify such inhuman treatment. I do not mention this fact as a reflection upon the Carolinian females; on the contrary, they are in general extremely kind and tender to their slaves; nor are the men by any means remarkable for severity, but are rather distinguished for their careful and humane treatment of their negroes.

The penalty for killing a slave in South Caro-

lina is, if in the heat of passion, 50*l.*, and for premeditated murder 100*l.* For the last offence the murderer is rendered incapable of holding or receiving the profits of any office, place, or emolument, civil or military, within the state. The negroes, if guilty of murder or rebellion, are *burnt to death;* and within these three or four years two have suffered that horrid punishment. For common offences they are either flogged at home by their masters or mistresses, or sent to a place next the jail in Broad-street, called the *Sugar House*, where a man is employed to flog them at the rate of a shilling per dozen lashes. I was told that a lady once complained of the great expense she was at for flogging, and intended to *contract* with the man to flog her slaves by the year!

The mulattoes, or people of colour, are very numerous in Charleston. Many of them are free, but a much greater proportion are slaves. They are said to be more insolent and debauched than the negroes; which is perhaps owing to the knowledge of their origin, and the liberties they conceive they are entitled to take. Many of the mulatto girls are handsome, and good figures. They are fond of dress, full of vanity, and generally dispense their favours very liberally to the whites. The negroes who are natives of Africa are often dull, stupid, and indolent. They are, however, in general more robust and capable of field labour than

those born in Carolina; and have less deceit and libertinism in their character. The negroes born in Carolina are much tinctured with European vices, particularly if they live in Charleston; but they make the best servants, being well acquainted from their childhood with household duties, and the business of a plantation or farm. They have also a high opinion of themselves, and look with contempt upon the new Africans. I heard one of them observe, on seeing a *drove* of newly-imported negroes going out of Charleston to a plantation in the country—"*Ah! dey be poor devils, me fetch ten of dem, if massa swap me.*" Free blacks are also a step above those who are in bondage, and nothing offends them more than to call them *negroes.* The steward of the Calliope, who was one of these, was highly offended with Captain Turner, who out of joke would frequently call him a damned *negro.* "*Negur, massa!*" says the steward, "*me be no negur—don't call me negur, massa.*" An old negro woman is called *momma,* which is a broad pronunciation of *mamma;* and a girl, *missy.* I once happened to call a young negro wench *momma*—"*me be no momma,*" says she, "*me had no children yet.*" The negroes are also called by a variety of names; and the catalogue of the heathen mythology of ancient heroes and demi-gods, of saints and martyrs, is ransacked for that purpose. Notwithstanding the vicious mode of fighting

common among the whites in the southern states of America, I always observed that the negroes boxed each other fairly: and if any foul play happened to take place, the negro by-standers would immediately interpose.

The old negroes, both men and women, are very attentive to their religious duties; and pews in the churches and chapels of Charleston are appropriated to their use. The majority of the negroes are Methodists, whose mode of worship seems to be a favourite with most of the blacks throughout the States. Unlike the American Indians, who are caught by the paraphernalia and mysterious ceremonies of the Roman Catholic religion, the negroes receive with enthusiasm the pleasing doctrine of *faith without works;* and if there is little religious ceremony in the service, its simplicity is amply compensated by the thundering anathemas of the preacher: this catches their attention, and in imitation of their more enlightened *white brethren,* they often fall down in *divine ecstasies,* crying, shouting, bawling, and beating their breasts, until they are ready to faint. Much of this extravagance is now done away, at least in Charleston, since some of the most vehement of the Methodist preachers were obliged to decamp, lest the meeting-houses should be pulled down upon them. Several were pelted and dragged out of their pulpits by some young men of the

town in the very middle of their horrid denunciations, and the frantic gestures of their deluded congregation. These violences were winked at by the municipality, as it was found that the absurd doctrines broached by those fanatical preachers did much injury to the slaves. Calm, dispassionate religion, of whatever denomination it may be, has never been withheld from the negroes, but rather encouraged, and in general they are very orderly and devout in their demeanour on Sundays. The free negroes and people of colour are then dressed out in their best, and feel exalted as much above the slaves as the whites do above them. They pull off their hats, bow, scrape, and curtsey to each other, and the younger part seem to treat their elders with much respect and attention. The meeting-houses are crowded with all colours, and many of the slaves frequently sit on the steps outside the door.

Where the Africans are well treated longevity is no stranger to their race. Several have lived to 80, 90, and 100 years; and in 1805 a negro woman died in Pennsylvania at the age of 116. I shall close this notice of the negroes of South Carolina with a remarkable instance of inviolable affection and heroic courage, evinced in the conduct of a negro and his wife, who had been recently imported from Africa; and which took place while I was in Charleston. They had been sepa-

rated and sold to two different persons in the city; the man to Major R——, and the woman to Mrs. D'A——. For a few months they resided in Charleston; and the major had often allowed the man to visit his wife, which in some measure reconciled them to their separation. But his master, wishing to employ him on his plantation in the country, gave orders for his being sent away. The negro no sooner learnt his destiny than he became desperate, and determined upon as bold a scheme as the mind of man could conceive, and one that might vie with the far-famed resolution of the Roman Arria. He obtained leave of his master, on the evening previous to his departure, to take a last farewell of his wife. I know not what passed at such an affecting interview; but it is supposed that he prevailed on her to die with him rather than be separated from each other, and obliged to pass their lives in miserable slavery; for the next morning they were both found dead, having strangled themselves with ropes. The hands of both were at liberty, so that there is no room to suppose that either had not consented to die. The Charleston papers represented this transaction in a very different light, being fearful of the consequences of such an example among the negroes; who, whatever their oppressors may say to the contrary, have proved in innumerable in-

stances that they are occasionally possessed of feelings as sensitive and acute as their white brethren.

Religious toleration is allowed in its fullest extent in South Carolina, as well as in every other state of the Union; and people of every sect and form of worship are admitted to a share of the government. Formerly the protestant church of England was the most predominant religion in the state; but at present the independents, presbyterians, and baptists, are supposed to be the most numerous. A bishop was at the head of the episcopal church a few years ago, but since his decease the vacancy has not been filled up. A large circular building, called the Independent Meeting, has within these few years been built in Meeting-street. The mode of worship nearly resembles that of the Scotch church; and the chapel is frequented by many of the rich and respectable families of the city; several of whom have also pews in the episcopal churches. The clergyman whom I heard in that chapel delivered a most excellent discourse, partly extempore, and though it had somewhat of the evangelical turn of expression, it was delivered in mild, moderate, and elegant language. The congregation sang without the assistance of an organ; and their voices harmonized more agreeably than the baptists and methodists.

The service in the episcopal churches of the United States is the same as that of England, except in such parts as have been accommodated to the reigning government. Instead of His Majesty, the Royal Family, the Nobility, and Parliament; they pray for the President, the Senate, and House of Representatives of the United States. St. Athanasius's creed is omitted; and some slight alterations have been made in the text of the common prayer. The churches, chapels, and meetings of Charleston are, in general, well attended; and during divine service few people are seen in the streets. The young men, however, are fond of posting themselves near a church porch, before and after service, in order to admire the girls, who afford the amorous youths few opportunities of seeing their elegant forms in the street on other days.

Some of the methodists are in the habit of having meetings twice a-week at their own houses. In the street where I resided for some time a methodist woman lived within a few doors of our house; and twice a-week, from six to nine o'clock in the evening, she used to collect a small congregation, for the purpose of praying and singing. There would have been nothing irregular or improper in such meetings, had they confined their devotion to themselves; but they actually disturbed the neighbourhood: for according as

they happened to be *inspired*, they would rise up and bellow out such thundering imprecations upon their own wickedness, that a mob usually collected round the house. They took care, however, to have the window-shutters closed. I have frequently heard the woman of the house uttering the most blasphemous language, crying, howling, and groaning, while one of the brethren continued praying; and as the man increased his voice, she increased her howlings, in which the rest of the company frequently joined. When that was over, they would grow a little calmer, and sing hymns; after which they would finish their evening's devotion with a fulminating threat against all who refused to participate in the doctrine of faith without works. The woman of the house, however, was determined that *works* should precede *faith*; for she frequently flogged her slaves before she went to prayers, as a kind of prologue to the evening's entertainments.

Marriages are solemnized by clergymen of all persuasions; as they are, also, by justices of the peace. The latter incur a fine of 100*l.* currency for so doing; but it has never been enforced against them. Licenses for marriage are more formal than necessary; for, as there is no law directing such a licence to be first obtained, a marriage is equally lawful without it.

Funerals are conducted much in the same style

as at New York, except that in Charleston the women attend. I have seen two or three hundred men, women, and children, walking arm in arm, in pairs. The corpse is placed on a sort of hearse, or rather cart, and covered with a pall, above which is a roof supported by four pillars; the whole is very mean, and drawn by only one horse, driven by a negro shabbily dressed. The relations, or particular friends, wear mourning, with crape hat-bands and scarfs; the rest of the company are in coloured clothes. Previous to setting out, refreshment is served round, and sprigs of rosemary or lavender are given to each. The negroes imitate the whites in their funerals, and it is curious to see a negro parson and clerk attending them. The bells never toll in Charleston at funerals. A few months before the yellow fever raged in that city, in 1807, an *undertaker* made his appearance, which was so great a novelty to the inhabitants that he was obliged to explain what was meant by the term *undertaker* in an advertisement. Before this carpenters were employed to knock up a coffin, and the deceased's friends were obliged to provide every necessary for the funeral, either at their own houses or at different shops. Military funerals are conducted with much parade and ceremony.

The charitable societies in Charleston, besides the Orphan-house, are the South Carolina Society, St. Andrew's, Fellowship, German Friendly, Me-

chanic, Mount Sion, Hibernian, Gemiloth Hasadin, and Free Masons. The grand lodge of the latter is self-constituted, and threw off the yoke of the grand lodge of England. It does not possess a fund of more than a thousand dollars, and its charitable donations are but small. A remarkable proposition was once made in this lodge, that all its members should profess *Christianity;* it was, however, over-ruled; nor indeed could it have been admitted, as free-masonry was established with a view to embrace every denomination of religion in the world. Several of the new lodges in the United States are said to have degenerated from the pure principles of free-masonry, and are too apt to be influenced by politics.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Legislature of South Carolina—City of Columbia—Revenue—Expenses of the City of Charleston—Taxes—Courts of Law—Curious Trial—Portraits of Washington and Hamilton more saleable than those of Jefferson—Review on Charleston Race Ground—Militia of South Carolina—Volunteer Corps of Charleston—Field-day—Military Force of the United States badly disciplined—Satire upon American Discipline—A Militia Muster.

The legislative authority of South Carolina is vested in a general assembly, consisting of a senate and house of representatives. The executive authority is vested in a governor and lieutenant-governor, who are chosen by the general assembly to continue in office for two years; and they are not eligible again until the term of four years after they have served in that capacity. The judicial power is vested in such superior and inferior courts of law and equity as the legislature may from time to time direct and establish. At present the courts of this state consist of a court of sessions and common pleas for each district in the state,

which are held twice a year. These courts are courts of record; possessing complete, original, and final jurisdiction, in all cases touching the causes and pleas concerning them; except as it may be altered by law, and in points of practice by the rules of court. In Charleston, a court has lately been established, called the Inferior City Court, for the purpose of hearing and determining all causes of a civil nature arising within the limits of the city, and for the trial of all offences against the by-laws of the same.

In the year 1789 the seat of government was removed from the city of Charleston to Columbia: and with it all the public records, excepting those relating to property, within the districts of Charleston, Georgetown, and Beaufort. But for the greater conveniency of the citizens in the upper and lower parts of the State, the offices attached to government were divided in such a manner, that the treasury, the office of state, and the surveyor-general's office were to have each an office at Columbia and Charleston; the heads of those departments residing at one place, and their deputies at the other.

Columbia, now the seat of government in South Carolina, is situated just below the confluence of the Broad and Saluda rivers on the eastern side of the Congaree River, about 115 miles from Charleston. The town is laid off by a regular plan, its

streets intersecting each other at right angles. The buildings are erected about three quarters of a mile from the Congaree, on a ridge of high land, near 300 feet above the level of the river, from which a delightful prospect is presented. Here the state house, situated on a beautiful eminence, is to be seen, at the distance of many miles, from various parts of the country. Columbia consists of about 150 houses, and during the sittings of the legislature, assumes a gay appearance. At other times a calmness and quiet prevail, far different from the noise and bustle which might be expected in the capital of a State. This tranquillity is, however, sometimes roused into active business by the arrival of loaded waggons from the upper country. Vineyards, cotton, and hemp plantations are successfully cultivated in the neighbourhood of Columbia; and oil-mills, rope-walks, and some other manufactories, have been established in the town.

In the year 1783 Charleston was incorporated by an act of the legislature, and called the city of Charleston. It was then divided into thirteen wards, each of which annually choose a warden by ballot; and from the whole of the wardens so chosen an intendant is afterwards elected by the citizens. These form a council for the government of the city, by whom all ordinances are passed for its regulation. Its police is enforced by a city

guard, under the command of a captain and other officers; and with the incorporation of the city, additional taxes are laid on its inhabitants for supporting the expense of the same, amounting annually to not less than 60,000 dollars.

Besides the expenses of the city, state taxes are imposed for the support of the government, the annual expense of which is about 100,000 dollars. This sum is raised by a tax on property of one and a half per cent., on carriages and negroes, the latter of which are taxed at the rate of one dollar and a half each. Free negroes and people of colour pay something more. Houses and land are repeatedly advertised to be sold for paying the taxes; and long lists are published in the papers as having been seized by the sheriff. All absent persons entitled to any taxable property or estate, in South Carolina, (excepting such as are sent abroad in the government service, until one year after the expiration of their commissions; or young men sent abroad for education, until attaining the age of twenty-three years,) are double taxed; because, as the State receives no benefit from their services at home, it is supposed but reasonable it should receive some compensation for protecting their estates while absent; and also because it tends to discourage long residences of the citizens abroad. Sums of money at interest, actually received, over and above what each person

pays on account of interest, (except when such interest is received by any widow, orphan, or unmarried woman, having no other means of livelihood,) are assessed at the rate of a quarter dollar on every hundred dollars which shall have produced an interest of seven per cent. Upon sales at public auction, a tax of one per cent. on all ships' boats or other vessels; lands, houses, and slaves; and three per cent. on all horses, cattle, goods, wares, and merchandizes, is imposed. Hawkers and pedlars pay a tax of 250 dollars for a license to sell goods, wares, and merchandize in any part of the State. Theatrical performers pay 428 dollars and a half for every license granted in the city of Charleston, and 107 dollars 14 cents for every license granted elsewhere in the State.

The laws are similar to those of Great Britain; but the right of primogeniture has been abolished, and real and personal estates now descend, in cases of intestacy, by more equitable distributions. The power, however, of individuals in making wills remains the same as before. Bankrupts and insolvent debtors are never deprived of their liberty when they faithfully deliver up all their effects to their creditors.

I was present at the hearing of two causes in Charleston, in which there appeared to be something more than *partiality* in the administration of justice. One was a case in which the owner

of a slave-ship refused to pay the sailors their wages after a twelvemonths' voyage, because the ship was seized on her arrival in port. The judge gave it in favour of the owner, and strong suspicions were entertained that he had been influenced by a pecuniary consideration. The decision, however, caused so much dissatisfaction, and appeared so unjust, that a young counsellor took the sailors' cause in hand, and moved for a new trial; which being granted, the sailors gained their suit. Some of them had upwards of 300 dollars to receive. The other cause was the trial of a man for attempting to commit a rape. The jury found him guilty; but he was pardoned before he was brought up to receive sentence.

The present Attorney-general is said to be a sensible and learned man; but I never heard a worse orator in any court. The other barristers are all young men, and two or three of them are excellent speakers. I have often admired in the courts of law of the United States, the frequent references which the counsellors continually make to English law cases, at the same time that one half of the nation is railing against every thing that is English; and in Pennsylvania some violent democrats absolutely entered into a resolution to prohibit their barristers from quoting any cases from English law books, or referring, in any of their pleadings, to English precedents. This sple-

netic resolution was, however, overruled by the district judge of Pennsylvania. Our law booksellers must export very largely to the United States, where lawyers are so numerous; most of the young men of genteel families being brought up to that profession.

A curious trial took place at Philadelphia, while I remained in the States, between two printsellers, Day and Jarvis, respecting an exchange of Jefferson's portraits for those of Washington. Jarvis had agreed, at the request of Day, to give fifty of Washington's portraits for fifty of Jefferson's; but finding how much the latter had depreciated and fallen in the public estimation, he sent only twenty-five Washingtons for the fifty Jeffersons which he had received. The other remonstrated, and even offered to take twenty-five Hamiltons in lieu; but this was refused, as the portraits of General Hamilton were nearly as valuable as those of Washington, they selling for five and six dollars each, while the Jeffersons could hardly find a sale at *half a dollar* each. The judge said, that the jury were not to look at the value of the prints, but to the contract: upon which a verdict was given for the plaintiff, damages 118½ dollars.

The militia of South Carolina is divided into two divisions, each commanded by a Major-general. These divisions comprehend nine brigades,

thirty-nine regiments of infantry, eight regiments and a squadron of cavalry, and one regiment and a battalion of artillery, besides artillery companies which are attached to some of the regiments of infantry. The brigades are commanded by as many Brigadier-generals; and the regiments are commanded by Lieutenant-colonels. The Governor is commander-in-chief of all the militia of the State, both by sea and land.

Every able-bodied white male citizen, between the age of eighteen and forty-five, is enrolled in the militia, and free people of colour are enrolled as pioneers. One-third of the militia may be marched out of the State by order of the executive of the United States, on particular emergencies, and under certain conditions; and treated in every respect the same as the regular troops, except that in cases of court-martial the court is to be selected from the militia of the State. Officers rise by seniority; and no election exists except in the first appointment of subaltern. The number of effective militia in South Carolina is about 40,000, of whom 2,000 are cavalry.

In Charleston, the inhabitants have formed themselves into volunteer corps, armed and clothed at their own expense. One half consists of cavalry and artillery. The uniform of the latter is a long blue coat, with red facings, and large cocked hat and red feather; it has a heavy appearance, and

is but ill adapted to such a corps, whose chief perfection is in celerity of movement. The little company of Jews wear a similar dress, which, with their peculiarity of features, renders them grotesque-looking soldiers. I was present at a review, on the race-ground, of the different corps, and the new levy of militia, forming a part of the 100,000 men ordered by Congress to hold themselves in readiness for the defence of the country. They appeared to be very ill disciplined, and the new levy, which mustered about 1,000 men, was out of uniform, and had no other arms than their own rifles or fowling-pieces. The volunteer companies were dressed in a variety of uniforms, and made a respectable appearance. The emblem upon the colours of the artillery corps was apt enough to the situation of the country at the period of the revolution: it was an artilleryman standing by the side of a cannon, and a serpent upon the ground near his feet, looking up in the man's face, with the motto, "*don't tread on me.*" The militia in the United States is for the most part badly disciplined. In the towns, some show of a military force is kept up by the volunteers, who are fond of captivating the ladies with their smart uniforms and nodding plumes; but throughout the country places the militia meet only to eat, drink, and be merry. I met with an excellent satire upon one of these meetings while I was

at Charleston. As it may afford my readers some amusement, I have taken the liberty to lay it before them.

"I happened not long since to be present at the muster of a captain's company, in a remote part of one of the counties; and as no general description could convey an adequate idea of the achievements of that day, I must be permitted to go a little into the detail, as well as my recollection will serve me. The men had been notified to meet at nine o'clock, 'armed and equipped as the law directs,' that is to say, with a gun and cartouch box at least; but as directed by the law of the United States, 'with a good firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, and pouch with a box to contain not less than twenty-four sufficient cartridges of powder and ball.' At *twelve* o'clock about one-third, perhaps half, the men had collected; and an inspector's return of the number present would have stood nearly thus: *one* captain, *one* lieutenant ensign *none*, serjeants *two*, corporals *none*, drummers *none*, fifers *none*, privates present 25, ditto absent 30, guns 15, gunlocks 12, ramrods 10, rifle pouches *three*, bayonets *none*, belts *none*, spare flints *none*, cartridges *none*, horsewhips, walking canes, and umbrellas, *twenty-two*.

"A little before one o'clock, the captain, whom I shall distinguish by the name of *Clodpole*, gave directions for forming the line of parade. In

obedience to this order, one of the serjeants, the strength of whose lungs had long supplied the place of a drum and fife, placed himself in front of the house, and began to bawl with great vehemence, 'All Captain Clodpole's company to parade there! come, *gentlemen*, parade here! parade here!' says he, 'and all you that hasn't guns, fall into the lower *eend*.' He might have bawled till this time, with as little success as the Syrens sung to Ulysses, had he not changed his post to a neighbouring shade; there he was immediately joined by all who were then at leisure, the others were at that time engaged either as parties or spectators at a game of fives, and could not just then attend: however, in less than *half an hour* the game was finished, and the captain was enabled to form his company, and proceed in the duties of the day.

"*Look to the right and dress!*

"They were soon, by the help of the non-commissioned officers, placed in a straight line; but as every man was anxious to see how the rest stood, those on the wings pressed forward for that purpose, till the whole line assumed nearly the form of a crescent.

"*Whew!* look at 'em!" says the captain: "why, gentlemen, you are all crooking here at both *eends*, so that you will get on to me by and by: come, gentlemen, *dress! dress!*

" This was accordingly done; but impelled by the same motive as before, they soon resumed their former figure, and so they were permitted to remain.

" Now, gentlemen," says the captain, " I am going to carry you through the *revolutions* of the manual exercise, and I want you, gentlemen, if you please, to pay every particular attention to the word of command, just exactly as I give it out to you. I hope you will have a little patience, gentlemen, if you please, and I'll be as short as possible; and if I should be a-going wrong, I will be much obliged to any of you, gentlemen, to put me right again, for I mean all for the best, and I hope you will excuse me if you please. And one thing, gentlemen, I must caution you against, in particular, and that is this, not to make any *mistakes* if you can possibly help it, and the best way to do this, will be to do all the motions *right* at first, and that will help us to get along so much the faster, and I will try to have it over as soon as possible. Come, boys, come to a shoulder.

" *Poise foolk!*

" *Cock foolk!*—Very handsomely done.

" *Take aim!*

" *Ram down cartridge!*—No! No! Fire. I recollect now, that firing comes next after taking aim, according to Steuben; but with your permis-

sion, gentlemen, I'll *read* the words of command just exactly as they are printed in the book, and then I shall be sure to be right. 'O yes! read it, Captain, read it,' exclaimed twenty voices at once, 'that will save time.'

"'*Tention the whole then:* please to observe, gentlemen, that at the word *fire!* you must fire; that is, if any of your guns are *loaden'd,* you must not shoot in *yearnest,* but only make pretence like; and all you gentlemen fellow-soldiers, who's armed with nothing but sticks, and riding switches, and corn stalks, needn't go through the firings, but stand as you are, and keep yourselves to yourselves.

"*Half cock foolk!*—Very well done.

"S, h, u, t, (spelling) *shet pan!*—That too would have been very handsomely done, if you hadn't have handled the cartridge instead; but I suppose you wasn't noticing. Now, '*tention,* one and all, gentlemen, and do that motion again.

"*Shet pan!*—Very good, very well indeed, you did that motion equal to any old soldiers; you improve astonishingly.

"*Handle cartridge!*—Pretty well, considering you done it wrong *eend* foremost, as if you took the cartridge out of your mouth, and bit off the twist with the cartridge box.

"*Draw rammer!*—Those who have no rammers to their guns need not draw, but only make

the motion; it will do just as well, and save a great deal of time.

" *Return rammer!*—Very well again—But that would have been done, I think, with greater expertness, if you had performed the motion with a little more dexterity.

" *Shoulder foolk!*—Very handsomely done, indeed, if you had only brought the *foolk* to the other shoulder, gentlemen. Do that motion again, gentlemen, and bring the *foolk* up to the left shoulder.

" *Shoulder foolk!*—Very good.

" *Order foolk!*—Not quite so well, gentlemen; not quite altogether: but perhaps I did not speak loud enough for you to hear me all at once; try once more if you please; I hope you will be patient, gentlemen, we will soon be through.

" *Order foolk!*—Handsomely done, gentlemen! very handsomely done! and all together too, except that a few of you were a *leetle* too soon, and some others a *leetle* too late.

" In laying down your guns, gentlemen, take care to lay the locks up, and the other sides down.

" 'Tention the whole! *Ground foolk!*—Very well.

" *Charge bagonet! (Some of the men)*—' That can't be right, Captain, pray look again, for how can we charge bagonet without our guns?'

" *(Captain)* I don't know as to that, but I know

I'm right, for here it is printed in the book c, h, a, r, yes, *charge bagonet*, that's right, that's the word, if I know how to read; come, gentlemen, do pray charge bagonet! Charge, I say! Why don't you charge? Do you think it an't so? Do you think I have lived to this time of day, and don't know what *charge bagonet* is? Here, come here, you may see for yourselves; it's as plain as the nose on your fa——stop—stay—no! —halt! no, no! faith I'm wrong! I'm wrong! I turned over *two leaves at once*. But I beg your pardon, gentlemen, we will not stay out long; and we'll have *something to drink* as soon as we've done. Come, boys, get up off the stumps and logs, and take up your guns, and we'll soon be done; excuse me if you please.

"*Fix bagonet!*

"*Advance arms!*—Very well done, turn the stocks of your guns in front, gentlemen, and that will bring the barrels behind; and hold them straight up and down if you please. Let go with your left hand, and take hold with your right just below the guard. Steuben says the gun must be held up p, e, r, *perticular:* yes you must always mind and hold your guns very perticular. Now, boys, 'tention the whole!

"*Present arms!*—Very handsomely done! only hold your guns over the other knee, and the other hand up, turn your guns round a *leetle*, and raise

them up higher, draw the other foot back! Now you are nearly right. Very well done, gentlemen; you have improved vastly since I first saw you: you are getting too *slick*. What a charming thing it is to see men under good discipline! Now, gentlemen, we are come to the *revolutions:* but Lord, men, how did you get into such a higgletypigglety?

"The fact was, the shade had moved considerably to the eastward, and had exposed the right wing of these hardy veterans to a galling fire of the *sun*. Being but poorly provided with umbrellas at this end of the line, they found it convenient to follow the shade, and in huddling to the left for this purpose, they had changed the figure of their line from that of a crescent to one which more nearly resembled a pair of pothooks.

"Come, gentlemen," says the captain, "spread yourselves out again into a straight line, and let us get into the wheelings and other matters as soon as possible.

"But this was strenuously opposed by the soldiers. They objected to going into these *revolutions* at all, inasmuch as the weather was extremely hot, and they had already been kept in the field upwards of *three quarters* of an hour. They reminded the captain of his repeated promise to be as short as he possibly could, and it was clear he could dispense with all this same wheeling and

flourishing if he chose. They were already very thirsty, and if he would not dismiss them, they declared they would go off without dismission, and get something to drink; and he might fine them if that would do him any good; they were able to pay their fine, but could not go without drink to please any body; and they swore they would never *vote* for another captain who wished to be so unreasonably strict.

"The captain behaved with great spirit upon this occasion, and a smart colloquy ensued; when at length, becoming exasperated to the last degree, he roundly asserted, that no soldier ought ever *to think hard* of the orders of his officer; and finally he went as far as to say, that he did not think any gentleman on that ground had any just cause to be offended with him. The dispute was at length settled by the captain's sending for some grog, for their present accommodation, and agreeing to omit reading the military law, as directed by a late act, and also all the military manœuvres, except two or three such easy and simple ones as could be performed within the compass of the shade. After they had drunk their grog, and "spread themselves," they were divided into platoons.

"'Tention the whole!—*To the right wheel!* Each man faced to the right about.

"Why, gentlemen, I didn't mean for every man

to stand still and turn *nayturally* right round; but when I told you to wheel to the right, I intended for you to wheel round to the right as it were. Please to try that again, gentlemen; every right hand man must stand fast, and only the others turn round.

" In a previous part of the exercise, it had, for the purpose of sizing them, been necessary to denominate every second person a 'right hand man.' A very natural consequence was, that on the present occasion those right hand men maintained their position, and all the intermediate ones faced about as before.

" Why look at 'em now!" exclaimed the captain in extreme vexation. " I'll be d——d if you can understand a word I say. Excuse me, gentlemen, but it *rayly* seems as if you couldn't come at it exactly. In wheeling to the right, the right hand *eend* of the platoon stands fast, and the other *eend* comes round like a swingle tree. Those on the outside must march faster than those on the inside, and those on the inside not near so fast as those on the outside. You certainly must understand me now, gentlemen; and now please to try once more.

" In this they were a little more successful.

" Very well, gentlemen; very well indeed: and now, gentlemen, at the word wheel to the left, you must wheel to the left.

" 'Tention the whole! *To the left—left no—right —that is, the left—I mean the right—left, wheel! march!*

" In this he was strictly obeyed; some wheeling to the right, some to the left, and some to the right, left, or both ways.

" Stop! halt! let us try again! I could not just then tell my right hand from my left; you must excuse me, gentlemen, if you please; experience makes perfect, as the saying is; long as I've served, I find something new to learn every day, but all's one for that: now, gentlemen, do that motion once more.

" By the help of a non-commissioned officer in front of each platoon, they wheeled this time with considerable regularity.

" Now, boys, you must try to wheel by divisions, and there is one thing in particular which I have to request of you, gentlemen, and it is this, not to make any blunder in your wheeling. You must mind and keep at a wheeling distance; and not talk in the ranks, nor get out of fix again; for I want you to do this motion well, and not make any blunder now.

" 'Tention the whole! *By divisions! to the right wheel! march!*

" In doing this, it seemed as if Bedlam had broke loose; every man took the command—

" Not so fast on the right!—How now! how

now!—Haul down those umbrellas!—Faster on the left!—Keep back a little in the middle there—Don't crowd so—Hold up your gun, Sam—Go faster there!—Faster!—Who trod on me?—D——n your *huffs*, keep back! keep back!—Stop us, captain, do stop us—Go faster there—I've lost my shoe—Get up again—Ned, halt! halt! halt!—Stop, gentlemen! stop! stop!—

"By this time they got into utter and inexplicable confusion, and so I left them."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Arts, Sciences, and Literature of South Carolina—Newspapers—Incomes of the Planters—Houses—Productions of the Soil—Implements of Husbandry— Waggons — Sledges — Grasses—Pasture Lands—Manufactures—Gunpowder—Grist Mills—Manufactories of Cordage—Commerce of South Carolina—Neutral Trade—Conduct of the Belligerents—Exports from Charleston.

ARTS, sciences, and literature, receive but little encouragement in South Carolina. The sports of the field, the pleasures of the bottle, and the conviviality of the table, have more charms for a Carolinian than philosophical inquiries or the study of the Belles Lettres; yet some few have distinguished themselves as writers upon the local or general history of the country, and the revolutionary war. Among the most recent are Dr. Ramsay and Governor Drayton. To the latter gentleman I am indebted for much of the information I have obtained concerning the climate and diseases, agriculture, and manufactures of that state.

There are three newspapers published daily in--

Charleston. The *City Gazette* and the *Courier* are morning papers, but of totally opposite political principles. The former is violently democratic, and the latter as violently federal. Each, of course, favours the French or English nations as best suits with their politics: and, like other party papers in the States, they copy only those paragraphs from foreign papers which tell well on their own side. The *Times* is an afternoon paper, and in politics adopts a medium between the two others. It copies impartially from the English and French papers; and the editor seldom troubles the public with any political disquisition of his own. All the papers are well stocked with advertisements; among which *prime Congo, Gambia* and *Angola slaves* for *sale* at Gadsden's wharf, were very conspicuous before the abolition of that inhuman traffic; at present *run away negroes, auctions, stores,* and *sheriff's sales,* fill up most of the columns, and, with long fulsome paragraphs *in praise of the dead,* leave but little space for the news of the day. Advertisements are often drawn up in a ludicrous style; and rewards offered for lost or stolen property that are not likely to facilitate their recovery. *One cent* reward is sometimes offered to those who will apprehend a negro fellow, or wench, that had absconded from a plantation; and I once saw a reward of *thirty-nine lashes* offered for the recovery of a pair of saddle-

bags which had been stolen off a horse; and that "any *d——d rascal* who stole them, and would return the same to *Thomas Stokes*, should receive the above *reward!*"

South Carolina may be divided into lower, middle, and upper country; for the soil, productions, and political œconomy of the inhabitants of those divisions exhibit considerable variation and diversity of character. The lower country, rising gradually from the sea shore to a ridge of sand-hills, about sixty miles back, is distinguished by its level surface, its inlets, creeks, marshes, and islands; its swamps, bays, and pine barrens. The middle country, commencing at the sand hills, is in general barren and unproductive; but in the neighbourhood of large rivers the soil is of excellent quality. The upper country commences from the hills of Santee, and the falls of the river. It is distinguished by its rising grounds, loose stones, beds of rock, and towards the extremity of the state by enormous mountains. The soil of this division is in general good, but requires much labour and industry in its cultivation. As there are few or no slaves in this part of the state, the business devolves almost entirely upon the farmer and his family, who thus approach nearer in their manners to the inhabitants of the New England States than the planters and farmers of the middle and lower country.

Land is originally holden by grant, signed by the respective governors of the state, under seal of the same, conveying an estate of inheritance in free and common soccage; and is attended with no other expense on obtaining the grant than the payment of certain small fees of office. It is inherited by the laws of this state in equal shares, amongst all of the same degree; and if sold, is conveyed by lease and release, feoffment with delivery, or by simple deed, according to a late act of the legislature passed for that purpose. Few lands are holden on lease; or, if they be, the leases are for short terms and on liberal conditions, and in general the lands are possessed and tilled by the rightful owners of the soil.

The incomes of the planters and farmers are various, ranging from 80,000 to 40 dollars. Very few, however, receive incomes of the magnitude of the former sum. Many receive from 12,000 to 20,000 dollars per annum; but the majority of the planters are only in the annual receipt of from 3,000 to 6,000 dollars. The estates of these latter may be worth from twenty to forty thousand dollars. The farmers are on a smaller scale; and their incomes may be said to range between 2,000 and 40 dollars. The best lands in South Carolina, which are tide-swamps, if cultivated, have sold for 170 dollars per acre. In general, however, they sell from 70 to 90 dollars an acre, on a credit of

one or two years. Uncultivated tide land sells proportionably lower. Inland swamps, if cultivated, sell at prices between 20 and 50 dollars per acre. Good cotton land has sold in Beaufort district as high as 60 dollars per acre; its value, however, in general, in different parts of the state, is from six to forty dollars; the price depending much on its situation, as that nearest the sea, for instance, is considered the most valuable, and produces the finest cotton. Other high lands sell from one to six dollars an acre, according to their respective situations and conveniences for navigation.

The buildings are as various as the value of estates, ranging in value between 30,000 and 20 dollars. They are commonly built of wood: some, however, are constructed of brick; though they are principally in the cities and towns. Of late years building has been carried on with spirit throughout the state; and houses of brick and wood erected suitable to the improvement of the manners and comforts of society. The houses are, for the most part, built of one or two stories, according to the taste and abilities of the owner. One peculiarity, however, may be remarked respecting them, which is, that piazzas are generally attached to their southern front, as well for the convenience of walking therein during the day, as for preventing the sun's too great influence on the interior of the house; and the out-offices

and kitchens are rarely connected with the principal dwelling, being placed at a distance from it of thirty or forty yards. The houses of the poorest sort of people are made of logs, let into each other at the ends, and their interstices filled up with moss, straw, and clay. The roofs are covered with clap boards. Their plan is simple, as they consist of only one or two rooms; and the manners of their tenants are equally plain.

In the lower country cotton and rice are cultivated largely for sale; while Indian corn, cow-peas, and long potatoes, are only planted sufficient for the yearly consumption of the settlement; and on many of the tide-swamp rice plantations no provisions but potatoes are planted, their produce being only equal to the support of the plantation for a few months. The rest is supplied by the purchase of Indian corn, brought down the rivers from the middle parts of the state, and also imported from some of the United States.

In the middle country cotton and Indian corn are principally raised for sale: and the produce of all kinds of grain is so abundant, that there is no want of provision for the support of life. In the upper country tobacco is the principal object for sale; and its inhabitants have lately turned their attention towards the raising of cotton with good prospects of success: wheat and hemp are also raised there for sale; together with horses and

stock of different kinds. Flax is cultivated for the convenience of family concerns. In some parts of the upper country stones and rocks are met with on the summit of ridges; but the lands in culture are seldom so much troubled with them as to render it necessary either to collect them in heaps, or afford materials for building stone walls; the inclosures are therefore generally made of split rails, which being placed on each other in an angular manner, constitute what is called a *worm-fence*. In the middle and lower parts of South Carolina the soil is free from rocks and stones, and consists chiefly of swamps, sands, and clay, with a slight intermixture of gravel at intervals.

The implements of husbandry used in South Carolina are few and simple: they consist of various ploughs, such as the bar-share, shovel, fluke, single coulter, cutter and drill; harrows, hoes, spades, waggons, carts, and sledges. Ploughs are chiefly used in the middle and upper country, where labourers are few, and the soil tenacious and stubborn. In the lower country they are but partially used, although the planters would probably find it their interest to adopt them more generally. In some cases they cultivate a cotton and Indian-corn crop by the plough; but they are oftener done with the hoe, which may be considered as the principal instrument of husbandry in the lower country. The spade is used chiefly

for ditching and draining the rice lands; but the hoe is used for cultivating them. In some tide and inland plantations, however, where the ground is strong, and has been kept sufficiently dry, ploughs are used with great advantage.

Waggons and sledges are principally used in the middle and upper country; the first for transporting heavy articles to a distance, and the last for drawing wood, rails, and small timber about a settlement. In the lower country, ox carts capable of carrying three or four barrels of rice are almost solely the mode of land carriage for the rice planters. They are drawn by three or four yoke of oxen, and attended by two or three negro drivers.

There are upwards of sixteen different grasses indigenous to South Carolina; but in general little attention is paid to the forming of pasture and meadow lands. The cattle are sent into the woods to graze; and the culture of cotton, rice, and maize becomes the chief object of the planter and farmer's attention. Some lands in the vicinity of Charleston are, however, converted into fields for mowing, as the high price of hay in that neighbourhood renders this branch of agriculture a profitable business; but the greatest proportion of hay is brought from the northern states in the packet vessels. In general the cattle is fed during winter upon the leaves and blades of the Indian-corn, rice-straw, &c. Horses and poultry are fed with the corn, which,

together with rice, also forms the principal food of the negroes. The white inhabitants are extremely fond of the corn bruised, and boiled into a pudding, which they call *hominy*. It is eaten with milk, sugar, and butter, and is a favourite dish at breakfast.

While agriculture is so much attended to, and the means of engaging in it so easy, it is not surprising that so few direct their attention to manufactures. Some years ago a cotton manufactory was established near Statesborough, which bid fair to rise into consideration. It was, however, soon perceived that the price of labour was too great to permit its goods to stand any competition with those of similar qualities imported from Great Britain: consequently the proprietors were obliged to discontinue their operations. A numerous population and scarcity of lands must first be experienced in a country before its inhabitants will resort to manufactures, while a more eligible mode of subsistence exists. In the upper country, however, necessity has obliged the inhabitants to provide for their respective wants from their own resources, in consequence of the difficulty and expense of conveying bulky articles from the sea-coast to the interior. The traveller there soon becomes accustomed to the humming music of the spinning-wheel and the loom. Cottons and woollens of various descriptions are made in sufficient quantities for domestic use; and if we

except the articles of salt and sugar, the people in the upper parts of the state may be considered independent of foreign support; for carpenters, smiths, masons, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, hatters, millwrights, and other tradesmen, are conveniently situated throughout the country; and the materials necessary for their respective professions are met with in abundance.

Gunpowder is occasionally manufactured in the interior of South Carolina; not, however, by a regular set of mills, but in a small way, and as exigencies may require. In general the inhabitants are supplied with that article and saltpetre from Tennessee and Kentucky.

A variety of mills for grinding wheat and packing flour, for sawing timber and making oil, are scattered over the country. Three rope-walks have also been established of late years;—two near Charleston, and the other at Columbia. The latter manufactures about 80 tons of cordage in the year, from hemp raised upon the lands in the adjacent country. From this manufactory the ropes and cables were obtained for the first equipment of the John Adams frigate of 32 guns, built at Charleston in 1799.

Previous to the revolutionary war the exports of South Carolina amounted, upon an average, to 500,000*l.* sterling, and consisted principally of rice, indigo, tobacco, deer skins, pitch, tar, tur-

pentine, salt provisions, Indian corn, and lumber. During the war agriculture and commerce were both materially injured. The usual supplies of clothing from the mother-country being stopped, manufactories were established; and the negroes were for the most part clothed with mixed cloths of cotton and wool spun and woven for the occasion. Many negroes were taken from agricultural pursuits, as well to assist at these manufactures as to carry on the erection of fortifications and other public works; in consequence of which the articles for exportation naturally decreased, or, when collected, were consumed at home alternately by friends and foes.

At the conclusion of the war it appeared that the agriculture and commerce of South Carolina had retrograded nearly forty-seven years; the exports of 1783 being scarcely equal to those of 1736. The internal consumption, however, must have been greater, but the loss to the state was the same. Since that period her agriculture and commerce have rapidly augmented, though in some degree counteracted by the partial prohibition of the importation of negroes for several years past, and which was fully carried into execution on the 1st of January 1808. From year to year new prospects have presented themselves; new objects of agriculture have arisen; and the loss of one staple has been supplied by another of supe-

rior value: cotton is now the most valuable export of South Carolina.

Since the French Revolution Charleston has been the medium of the greatest part of that trade which has been carried on between the French West India islands and the mother-country under the neutral flag of the United States. In this manner quantities of cocoa, coffee, sugar, rum, indigo, and other articles, the produce of the French, Spanish, and Dutch possessions in the West Indies and South America, are included in the exports of South Carolina, from the year 1793, which in time of peace are directly exported from the colonies to the mother-country. Within these few years much of this neutral traffic has been gradually abolished by the restrictive decrees and orders of council of the two great belligerent Powers, in return for which the Americans have retaliated by a general embargo: with what success remains to be seen. The number of vessels that entered the port of Charleston in 1801 amounted to 1,274, of which 875 belonged to that port; the rest were chiefly British vessels. At the time the embargo reached Charleston, the number of vessels in port were, ships 78, brigs 42, schooners and sloops 85 —total 205.

A Statement exhibiting the quantities of Rice, Indigo, Tobacco, and Cotton, exported from South Carolina to Great Britain and other foreign Parts, from 1760 to 1801; also the total value of exports at different periods.

Years.	Barrels of rice.	lbs. weight of indigo.	Hogsheads of tobacco.	lbs. weight of cotton.	Total value of the exports for each year.
					£ Sterling. *s.* *d.*
1760	100,000	399,366	14	—	256,767 0 0
1761	62,288	249,000	—	—	300,000 0 0
1762	—	—	—	—	508,108 6 10
1768	—	—	—	—	387,114 12 1
1769	—	—	—	—	278,907 14 0
1770	—	—	—	—	420,311 14 8
1771	—	—	—	—	756,000 1 1
1772	140,000	1,107,660	—	—	456,513 8 4
1782	22,224	827 casks	643	—	—
1783	61,974	2,051 do.	2,680	—	—
1789	100,000	—	—	—	—
1792	106,419	839,666 lbs.	5,290	68,520	656,545 5 6
1795	85,670	1,217 casks	4,288	1,109,653	1,346,444 2 0
1799	70,426	6,892 lbs.	9,646	2,801,996	1,964,027 7 6
1800	75,788	3,400 lbs.	7,927	6,425,863	2,374,839 9 0
1801	64,769	8,502 lbs.	5,996	8,301,907	3,218,410 2 6

CHAPTER XXXV.

Climate of South Carolina—Musquitos—Whirlwinds—Storms of Hail—Immense Hailstones—Remarkable Sleet—Sudden Changes of Weather—State of the Weather in Charleston for 1807 *—Strangers' Fever—Mountains covered with Snow—Vicissitudes of Climate—Obituary from the Bills of Mortality in Charleston during five Years.*

From the diversity of soil and situation in South Carolina, it necessarily results that there is a diversity of temperature in its climate. The upper country, from its elevated situation and near affinity to the mountains, possesses a dry elastic atmosphere extremely conducive to health: the heat of the day during summer is not oppressive, and the night partakes of a refreshing coolness. The climate of the middle country resembles that of the upper and lower divisions, as influenced by situation. The lower country, from many causes, differs materially from the other districts. Continually intersected by multitudes of swamps, bays, and low grounds, and having large reservoirs of water, and rice-fields at par-

ticular times overflowed, the atmosphere is surcharged with moisture, and its tonic power consequently reduced. The waters thus spread over the face of the country, and exposed to the action of a powerful sun, become unfriendly to health, and acquire a considerable degree of mephitic influence; while the evaporation thus occasioned, added to the perspiration of vegetables, completely saturates the atmosphere with a profusion of humidity, which is precipitated upon the surrounding country, either in heavy rains or copious dews. Hence fogs of much density cover the low lands throughout the night, during the summer months, and are dispelled in the morning by the rising sun or agitating winds.

When such is the situation of the lower country, it is not surprising that the months particularly influenced by heat should be chequered by sickness, among those who imprudently expose themselves to the cold damps of the night, or the feverish heats of the day; and accordingly from June to November we find intermittent fevers prevailing throughout the middle and lower country, in those parts adjacent to fresh water. The heavy rains generally commence in June and July; and until their waters have become in some measure stagnant, and putrefaction is produced, the health of the lower country is not particularly affected; but when weeds and vegetables

have arrived at their rankest growth, and putre factions are excited by the operations of heat and moisture, the atmosphere then becomes hurtful to the animal system. The same effects are also produced from similar causes in Georgia and East Florida: consequently the winds from those countries in autumn are much charged with mephitic qualities, and south-west winds in summer produce a feverish degree of heat, which greatly increases the bilious fevers and other diseases at Charleston.

During the hot months, many reptiles and insects are engendered near the stagnant waters; among these, none are so troublesome as the musquitos; for though they in some measure shun the heat of the day, yet they are at night particularly teasing to all those who venture to sleep exposed to their attacks. No person can lie down with any prospect of a night's repose in comfort, without being guarded from them by a gauze pavilion or canopy placed over his bed.

Although situate in the temperate, yet, by its near affinity to the torrid zone, South Carolina is placed in a situation which exposes it to the conflicts of elements in a greater degree than some of the more northern states. To this cause may be ascribed the destructive whirlwinds which sometimes lay waste parts of the country.

These proceed oftener through the upper coun

try than in the lower parts of the State; and, within the circumference of half a mile, will roll over the earth, tear up the largest oaks and other trees in their way, or twist and shiver them to pieces. Storms of hail are also produced, whose effects have been destructive to various parts of the State. The hills on either side the Catawba river, near Rocky Mount, can testify the severity of one which happened there some years ago. The discharge of hailstones was so heavy and large, that the pine-trees, which were just putting out their buds in the spring, and were interspersed among the oaks and hickories on the hills, were completely killed; and at this day exhibit a wild, and in windy weather an awful appearance, to any one who may be travelling amongst them, whilst they are rocking to and fro, and successively falling down. Fields of wheat and other grain were beaten to pieces and destroyed; and hailstones remained in the valleys for many days. In April 1793 a similar storm swept through part of Orangeburgh and Ninety-six districts; and in 1797 one passed along the eastern side of Cooper River, lasting about half an hour, and depositing hailstones three inches in circumference, and six inches in depth on the ground. The grain in the fields, and vegetables in the gardens, were totally destroyed; and birds and poultry were killed.

The commencement of the year 1800 was uncommonly cold, and several falls of snow took place in the months of January and February, some of which covered the grounds of the lower country six inches, and those of the upper country two or three feet deep, continuing on the latter for some weeks. During this time a remarkable sleet fell in a space from ten to fifteen miles wide, between Broad River and Savannah. Large concretions of ice were formed on the trees. The lesser ones were bent to the ground by their weight; but the full grown oaks, hickories, and other forest trees which did not bend, had their branches broken off in all directions, and the ground for miles was covered with their ruins. At this time the woods in that part of the State present a wild and mutilated appearance; the tops of the trees broken and unsightly, and their roots encumbered with dead fallen branches.

It also appears that the climate of South Carolina is peculiarly liable to sudden changes of temperature; that in one moment the body is relaxed by heat, and the next chilled by unexpected cold. Thus, profuse perspirations are checked; and unless the functions of the body are restored to their proper duties, a course of disorders commences, which sooner or later destroys the constitution. In tropical climates, it is said, the degrees of heat throughout the year do not vary

more than 16 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer, making thereby little difference between summer and winter. But in South Carolina there is often a variation of 83 degrees between the heat and cold of different days in the same year, in the space of seven months; and of 46 degrees in the different hours of the same day.

The following statement exhibits the greatest and least height of Fahrenheit's thermometer for several years:

Years.	Highest.	Lowest.	Years.	Highest.	Lowest.
1750	96	23	1759	93	28
1751	94	18	1791	90	28
1752	101	32	1792	93	30
1753	91	28	1793	89	30
1754	93	22	1794	91	34
1755	90	26	1795	92	29
1756	96	27	1796	89	17
1757	90	25	1797	88	22
1758	94	25	1798	88	31

STATE OF THE WEATHER IN CHARLESTON FOR 1807, ENDING DECEMBER 31.

Thermometer, highest	92° 30′
Ditto lowest	24°
Ditto mean	58° 15′
Barometer - - -	30° 1′ to 30° 77′
Hygrometer - - -	1 to 131
Fall of rain - - -	42 inches 1¼
Prevailing winds - -	N. E. S. W.
Days of rain - - -	67
Do. of thunder -	28
Do. of snow - -	2

From the preceding statement it appears, that the greatest heat of South Carolina is eight degrees less than it was about half a century ago, and that the cold has increased one degree more. Without going, however, into nice disquisitions, whether the State is hotter or colder, more wet or more dry, than it was fifty years ago, its climate is doubtless in a state of progressive melioration. At its first settlement Charleston was said to be so unhealthy in the autumnal months, that from June to October the public offices were shut up, and the people retired into the country. Now the reverse happens, and planters come in those months to the city, but by far the greater number still remain in the country on their plantations. Charleston, however, is yet subject to epidemic fevers; but it seldom happens that the natives suffer from them; which has occasioned them to call the prevailing disease the "Strangers' Fever;", and some of the inhabitants are absolutely of opinion, that if strangers were forbidden to visit the city during the autumnal months, the yellow fever would not make its appearance.

Whatever may be the severity of the seasons in South Carolina at particular times, yet it must be allowed that the climate is upon the whole agreeable, and the winters remarkably fine. The upper country has, however, greatly the advantage of the lower parts of the State; and its inhabitants in general enjoy much better health; though

during the winter months strangers from the northern states resort much to Charleston for the recovery of their health, or to avoid the piercing coldness of their own climate at that season of the year.

During a part of the winter the mountains at the furthest boundary of South Carolina are often covered with snow; but from thence to the sea-shore it seldom falls. Whenever snow appears in the lower country, it mostly happens in the months of December and January, covering the ground perhaps not more than an inch, except on extraordinary occasions, and thawing with the first appearance of the sun. In those months also the greatest cold is perceivable; the ground is sometimes bound up with a pinching frost, which in shady places will not be thawed for several days; and the waters of ponds are then so frozen over, as at times to permit sliding and even skating on the ice. But this happens very rarely, and even then only for a few days; after which the weather becomes mild and warm, so as to render fires unnecessary during the middle of the day.

Throughout the winter sudden changes from heat to cold often take place, and very materially affect the feelings of the inhabitants. In February the weather is frequently rainy, and may be called uncertain; as sometimes it offers calm, clear, and fine growing weather, when all at once the ex-

pectations of an early spring are checked by a north-west wind. The vegetation, however, may be said to commence in February; as at this time the red flowering maple is in full blossom, and soon after followed by the willow and alder. The plum and peach-trees now quietly put forth their blossoms, and nature clothes herself in cheerful verdure. In March and April the planters' and farmers' business commences; the planting season continuing until June. From that time, during July and August, the heats increase; and in the two latter months heavy rains set in, attended with severe thunder and lightning. In September the evenings and mornings are chilly; but the sun is extremely powerful in the middle of the day. The equinoctial influences are also at hand; storms of rain are produced, accompanied sometimes with hurricanes, which sweep tremendously along the coasts. The leaves of deciduous trees are now continually falling, and nature gradually assumes the sombre garb of winter. In October the weather is generally mild and clear; hoar frosts begin to make their appearance towards the latter end of this month; and with them, the fevers, agues, and other complaints engendered by the heats of summer, immediately disappear. The cold comes on in December, and vegetation is checked until the returning spring. Thus the year is closed in a manner peculiar to the varying climate of South Carolina.

Accidents and Diseases which occasion Death; from the Bills of Mortality in Charleston.

	Accidents and Diseases.	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807
Febrile Diseases.	Endemial cases	19	148	40	—	162
	Bilious inflammatory	75	133	155	125	205
	Nervous or putrid	13	22	26	15	21
	Small pox	2	1	13	31	26
Infantile Diseases.	Diarrhœa infantum	65	122	116	120	92
	Croup	6	19	8	7	15
	Convulsions	12	51	46	38	68
	Overlaid	—	—	1	1	1
	Teething	11	32	29	18	33
	Stillborn	8	14	7	16	22
	Thrush	2	3	2	2	3
	Hydrocephalus	—	—	5	2	6
	Whooping cough	—	64	—	1	—
	Worms	30	—	18	18	37
Intestinal Diseases.	Dysentery	15	55	57	134	656
	Colic	1	5	1	2	5
	Hepatitis	—	—	1	—	—
	Cramp in stomach	6	5	3	6	7
Pulmonic Affections.	Consumption	92	175	223	200	207
	Debility	3	17	5	27	29
	Pleurisy	10	28	75	76	65
	Colds	12	32	78	38	49
	Influenza	3	—	2	2	58
	Asthma	2	8	6	9	5
Immorality.	Intemperance	—	19	—	8	14
	Hanged	—	2	—	—	—
	Murdered	—	1	4	4	5
	Suicide	2	3	1	2	5
	Carried forward	389	959	922	897	1787

Accidents and Diseases.	1803	1804	1805	1806	1807
Amount brought up	389	959	922	897	1787
Apoplexy	2	22	11	11	19
Accident	4	11	17	11	20
Childbed	6	13	10	7	18
Dropsy	18	61	55	92	110
Drowned	13	—	8	14	9
Gout	—	1	—	1	—
Imposthume	—	1	7	3	3
Imflammation	2	—	5	12	10
Insanity	4	10	1	1	2
Jaundice	2	1	—	1	1
King's evil	2	2	6	2	4
Mortification	—	—	6	4	9
Spasms	22	29	21	39	21
Mumps	—	—	—	2	1
Nervous headache	—	—	1	1	—
Palsy	2	3	8	9	10
Hemorrhoids	—	—	—	1	—
Rheumatism	—	3	1	4	5
Sore throat	—	6	7	5	12
Scurvy	—	12	3	9	16
Shot	—	—	3	1	4
Surfeit, and kine pock	—	—	1	1	—
Rupture	2	—	2	1	10
Syphilis	3	2	3	2	2
Hydrophobia	—	—	2	—	—
Gravel	—	1	2	—	1
Hemorrhage	—	—	1	—	—
Unknown	28	130	106	165	119
Total deaths	449	1267	1208	1296	2191

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Journey from Charleston to Savannah on Foot—Four-Mile House—Ashley River—Rantowle's Creek—Pine Barrens—Live Oaks—Moss—Solitary Walk through the Woods—Lose my Way—Meet a Negro—Arrive at the 23 Mile House—Tavern-keeper—Anecdote of Mr. C——.—Resume my Journey the next Morning—Overtake a travelling Negro—Arrive at the Village of Jacksonborough—Dine there—Get into the Stage—Fellow Passengers—A French Traveller—His Opinion of the Americans—Buonaparte's Death—A new Revolution in France—Pocotaligo—Coosywhatchie—Arrive at Purrysburgh—Col. Purry—Indian Tumuli—Negro Boat Song.

I HAD remained at Charleston upwards of two months, when I came to the whimsical resolution of taking a journey of 120 miles on foot to Savannah in Georgia. The weather was fine, though at times rather too warm. The road which I had to travel lay through a dreary and extensive forest of pine-trees, or, as it is termed by the Carolinians, a *pine barren*, where a habitation is seldom seen except at intervals of ten or twelve miles.

I should have been glad, could I have procured a companion: but those to whom I proposed the journey, instead of accepting, endeavoured to persuade me from it; and mentioned the lonely and dreary woods through which I must walk so many miles, without, perhaps, meeting a human being. But at that time I was enthusiastically bent on my project. I had even formed, in my own mind, a determination to return from Charleston to New York on foot, though a distance of more than 700 miles; and for this purpose I intended my excursion to Savannah as a kind of preparatory journey, which would inure me to the fatigue of walking so many miles, and at the same time give me an idea of a great portion of the country through which I must pass. With this view, I furnished myself with a light dress; and, as I expected to meet with a friend at Savannah, I did not encumber myself with a supply of linen: I therefore took nothing more than the clothes I had on, and a stout stick, and on the 10th of March, about ten in the forenoon, set out from Charleston. I availed myself of the opportunity of leaving town the day before the stage which runs that road twice a week, in order that, if the journey became irksome, or the weather proved indifferent, I might get up and ride.

For the first ten miles out of Charleston, the road is very much cut up by the country wag-

gons, and the sand is deep and heavy. I walked to the four-mile house in an hour, though every step I took the sand was above my ancles. The *Four-Mile House* is a large handsome tavern, and much frequented by the inhabitants of Charleston, who ride out there for recreation in the afternoon, particularly on Sundays. It is chiefly the resort of the middling classes; the gentry seldom or never visit it. Between the tavern and Charleston, the road is lined with the hedges and fences belonging to several handsome plantations: the houses are, however, seldom seen, being built a considerable distance back.

From the *four* to the *eight-mile house*, the road lies in some places through a wood, in others by the side of plantations, but the scenery is dull and monotonous; a few indifferent buildings are all that appear, at long intervals, among the trees. About a mile beyond the *eight-mile house*, the road suddenly turns off to the left, towards Ashley ferry, and to the right towards Dorchester and Orangeburgh. The scene that presented itself, when I reached this turning on the left, was extremely beautiful, and formed a striking contrast to the dreary sameness of the wood which I had just passed through. The road descended gradually between a fine grove of trees for about a quarter of a mile, when it suddenly opened into an expansive savannah or rice swamp, upwards of six miles in

circumference. Several large plantations and handsome houses are situated on the border of this extensive plain, and behind them the scene is closed by the surrounding forests. The river Ashley, which runs through this swamp, springs from the Cypress and other swamps towards Monk's Corner in the lower country, and empties itself into Charleston harbour at the southern side of the city. Its width opposite Charleston is about 2,100 yards, and its stream narrows but little for several miles; it is navigable for ships a few miles up, and for sloops and schooners to a considerable distance. On the western bank of this river the first efficient settlement of the State was made, at a place now called *Old Town*, or *Old Charlestown*, in 1671, by a small colony sent out under Governor Sayle.

The road across the swamp is well kept up by large pieces of timber, piles, &c. which raise it several feet higher than the surface of the swamp, though in the spring and fall of the year it is sometimes overflowed. The soil is of a dark brown loam, and apparently very rich. A considerable part was drained off for working, but the remainder was covered with long grass, flags, and reeds.

Having passed the river in a flat-bottomed scow secured by a rope stretched from shore to shore, I went into the ferry-house, which is also a small

tavern. It was then near one o'clock, and I would willingly have taken some refreshment, had not the landlord assured me that he had not a morsel of bread in the house; I however procured a glass of brandy and water, and immediately proceeded on my journey. I struck into a thick *pine barren* which lay before me, and through which a narrow road was cut. The soil was of a light sandy nature, and the smooth and even road, so different from that over which I had passed, plainly denoted how little it was disturbed by waggons, or carriages of any description; and showed that the further I went the more solitary and lonely I should find my journey. Indeed, the whole of the road from Ashley ferry to Savannah river, a distance of 90 miles, is scarcely ever traversed by any other vehicle than the stage-coach, or occasionally the carriage of a planter.

I arrived about half past two at Rantowle's Creek, a distance of 16 miles from Charleston. This creek is a branch of the Stone River, and runs through an immense swamp. It has a pleasing effect, after being shut up for several miles in a thick forest, to emerge all at once into a broad open space covered only with grass or reeds; the eye is thus agreeably relieved from the dull sameness of the pine grove. I went into a tavern which stands near the creek, to see what I could obtain for dinner; I soon found that the larder

was not very plentifully supplied, but after a little search a wild duck was procured and dressed: this, with a bottle of London porter, afforded me a much better repast than I expected to meet with in such a solitary place.

About half past three I again set forward on my route, and before I had gone a quarter of a mile was clear of the swamp, and once more under the shade of the lofty pine trees. The day was uncommonly fine; and though the sun was very powerful, I suffered but little inconvenience from it, as the pine trees afforded me an excellent shelter; they, in fact, formed one continual grove as far as the eye could reach. The road was narrow, and nearly as level as a bowling-green; the soil varied in different places, but in general it was a light sandy earth, and free from stones. I had now fairly entered the *pine barrens*, and never felt myself more disposed for gloomy reflections than while passing through these lonely wildernesses. A habitation is seldom seen, except at intervals of ten or twelve miles, or when you approach a savannah or swamp; for the plantations are all settled a considerable distance from the road, and paths of communication are cut through the woods; so that, in travelling through the southern states, you are enveloped in almost one continued forest. A contrary practice is adopted in the northern and middle states, where

a succession of farms, meadows, gardens, and habitations, continually meet the eye of the traveller; and if hedges were substituted for rail fences, those States would very much resemble some of the English counties.

The pine barrens are without any stones on their surface, for eighty miles or more from the sea. The land rises by an almost imperceptible ascent to that distance, where the elevation is said to be near two hundred feet above the level of the ocean, and forms the boundary between the middle and lower parts of the State. Through this tract of country the pine barrens have little or no underwood, some species of shrub oak excepted, the ground being generally covered with coarse wild grasses. This is probably not its natural appearance, but is caused by the custom of burning the dry grass in the spring, in order to hasten early pasturage, at the same time destroying the young shrubs, which would otherwise shoot up and form a thick underwood between the pines. From this practice, the forests frequently exhibit on each side the road a dismal appearance, from the great number of trees half burnt and scorched and blacked by the fire; others lying on the ground, or ready to fall with the first high wind; and in several places it is rather hazardous travelling in stormy weather. Almost every week the driver of the stage coach

has to cut away large trunks or branches that have fallen across the road; or, if there is an opening sufficiently wide among the trees, he chooses rather to go round than trouble himself to use his axe.

The pines are chiefly of the pitch and yellow species, and grow to the height of 100 feet and more, with a handsome straight stem, two-thirds of which, upwards, are free from branches. They make excellent masts and timber for vessels, and yield abundance of pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine. The stumps of several which had been cut down were covered with the resinous matter that had been extracted from the top by the heat of the sun. Where the soil improves, which is sometimes the case even in the midst of these barrens, the eye is relieved from the monotonous solemnity of the lofty pine, by a variety of other trees, consisting principally of live oak; red, white, and chesnut oaks; hickory, elm, beech, maple, &c. and numerous shrubs, plants, and flowers. In several places, natural hedges are formed of the shrubs and underwood that escape the ravages of fire; these are intermingled with a variety of flowers, among which the honeysuckles, woodbines, and yellow jasmines are most conspicuous. When I passed, they were in full blossom, and the flowers at once pleased the eye, and impregnated the air with their delightful odours.

The Carolina live oak is interspersed among the pines in different parts of the country, and particularly along the road. This tree is an evergreen, and bears a small leaf resembling the myrtle. It is the most durable oak in the country, and almost as heavy as lignum vitæ. Its parts have also such adhesion, that it will not split, and a nail once driven into it is with difficulty extracted. Its trunk is short, sometimes six or seven feet in diameter, and its large crooked branches will frequently spread over near half an acre of ground: it is much used in ship-building. Besides this, Carolina possesses upwards of twenty other species of oak. Upon the live oak there grows a remarkable long moss, of a light gray colour, which blossoms in May. This moss adheres also to several of the pine-trees in the vicinity of the live oaks, but it is more particularly attached to the latter. To my eye, it had a very disagreeable effect, as it resembled a quantity of loose tow that had clung to the trees and encumbered their branches: many persons, however, think that it gives the forests of the new world a venerable aspect. The branches of several trees, from which this moss was suspended in great quantities, were destitute of leaves, and appeared in a decayed state. I have not been able to ascertain whether this was occasioned by the moss, but there was every appearance of it. This moss is a native

only of low, flat, and marshy soils, and in South Carolina is not found beyond the falls of the rivers: several attempts have been made to propagate it in the upper country, but without success. It grows abundantly in the forests of Louisiana. The inhabitants of Carolina fill their mattresses, beds, and pillows with it; and in hard winters it often affords an excellent food for cattle.

As I proceeded on my journey, the pine-trees, which have their branches towards their summits, formed a complete grove over my head, and almost excluded the sky from my view: in the morning this shady walk was extremely pleasant, but as the day began to close I would willingly have preferred a less gloomy retreat. Every step I took was still the same, and nothing disturbed the solemn silence of the forest, save the whistling murmurs of the wind, the skipping of a few deer across the road, and the rustling of the black snakes amid the grass and fallen branches of the trees. Now and then, indeed, the crash of an enormous pine-tree tumbling to the earth would ruffle the stillness which prevailed, and arouse me from a reverie of thought into which I had fallen, as I pensively measured my steps through the gloomy wilderness; but the sound, after reverberating for a few seconds, died away in distant murmurs through the woods, and all was again silent.

Since leaving Rantowle's Creek I had neither met a single human being, nor caught the least glimpse of a habitation; not even the welcome sound of the negro's axe ever came to delight my ear and cheer my spirits; and though I continued to advance mile after mile, yet no termination appeared to the road, nor did any other branch off from it: all was one straight, even path, and I had no other alternative but to proceed in a direct line or turn back. The sun was just going down, heavy dews were beginning to rise, and all around was awfully solemn. I had thus proceeded till near six o'clock, expecting every moment to reach the twenty-three mile house, where I meant to take up my abode for the night,—when I came to a place where the road branched off in two directions. There was no finger-post to direct me which to take; nor was there a human being at hand to whom I could apply for information. It was nearly dusk, and I had no time to hesitate; so at hazard I took the road which turned off to the left. This road exactly resembled that over which I had passed so many miles; but neither house nor plantation appeared in sight, though from the remarkable evenness of the road I could see a very considerable distance: the prospect, however, was terminated only by the tall pine-trees. After walking about half an hour without coming up to the tavern as I expected, I began to hesitate about

going any further, for I knew not whither the road led, as it was not laid down in the map of South Carolina which I had with me. I felt extremely tired; and I believe the anxiety I suffered at the uncertainty of my situation contributed not a little to heighten my fatigue. I however determined to proceed, and consoled myself with the idea that the road was not made without an object, and must therefore lead to some plantation or village. The prospect of having to pass the night in the woods made me quicken my steps, though every step I took was a painful exertion.

I had continued my hasty strides for about a mile, when at a considerable distance I perceived a negro with a couple of horses coming towards me. This was a welcome sight: I immediately hastened to meet him; and on his coming up inquired whether I was in the right road for the twenty-three mile house. To my infinite mortification and disappointment he replied that I should have taken the other; and that if I had continued the way I was going, I should not have seen a house for sixteen miles. I had now no other resource but to return back about four miles, and therefore requested the negro to let me ride his master's horse, with which he was returning home: to this he consented, and I very gladly jumped upon his back. As we rode along he showed me the place where he should turn off, after he had

set me down at the end of the road. I was not surprised that I had never discerned this opening in the forest, so completely was the spot enveloped by trees; nor was there any path from which a stranger could suspect that he was in the neighbourhood of a large plantation.

The Carolinians are very expert at hunting deer on horseback, and proceed through these woods with great velocity and dexterity. They are likewise so well acquainted with the country, that they never lose themselves, but travel from plantation to plantation, through many parts in which a stranger would be completely bewildered.

Having arrived at the end of the road, I dismounted, gave the friendly negro a shilling for his civility, and set forward with hasty steps for the twenty-three mile house, where I arrived between seven and eight o'clock. By this time the day was completely closed; and the moon, which was nearly at the full, was just rising. I was heartily rejoiced when I entered the house, and sat down to rest my weary limbs, for I was unaccustomed to pedestrian journeys, and had walked upwards of twenty-seven miles since ten o'clock, four of which were in the *wrong* road. It was a fortunate circumstance that I had not undertaken my journey a week before, as I should have been disappointed of a night's lodging at this house; the family who now occupied it having been in only

five days, previous to which it had stood empty above a fortnight.

The twenty-three mile house can scarcely be called a tavern, as the few travellers who frequent this road seldom or never stop there; but a change of horses is kept in an adjoining stable for the stage coach. I found my host to be a very intelligent friendly man; he received me cordially, and promised me the best entertainment his house afforded. His wife immediately got tea ready, and fried some eggs and bacon as an accompaniment, which she performed tolerably well, with two or three children squalling at her heels. The building, which was constructed of logs, consisted of four rooms on one floor; and the interstices between the logs not being filled up with clay or moss, the evening dew and the light of the moon found a ready admittance into our apartment: we however had a cheerful fire, and I considered myself extremely fortunate in getting under cover.

After tea, or rather supper, my host, who appeared somewhat above the ordinary cast of tavern-keepers, entertained me with an account of himself, and the motives which led him to take that house. He told me that he was a native of Guernsey, which island he had left about fourteen years ago to settle in America, where he flattered himself, like many others, with the idea

of making a rapid fortune and returning home again. When he arrived at Charleston he was worth about 1500*l.*; but he confessed, with much regret, that he was not now worth so many dollars. Though he had letters to a very respectable family, who did all they could to serve him, yet he was unfortunate in his speculations; and finding the land of that nature that it could not be worked without a large capital, and living being very expensive, he became an overseer on a plantation. The last planter he lived with was Mr. R——— S———h, who resided some distance off, and with whom he had been upwards of three years. During that time he had acquired a couple of negroes of his own, who worked occasionally for Mr. S———h; but that gentleman at length refusing to give them the same allowance of corn as his own slaves, he had left his service within the last five days, and taken the twenty-three mile house till he could get into the employ of another planter.

This man gave me a melancholy account of the ravages which the fever and ague make upon the constitutions of the white people settled in these parts of the country, every summer and autumn. He and his family were always attacked with those disorders, which were more or less severe according to the temperature of the seasons. The lower class of people are also accustomed to live so much

upon dried salted meat and fish, that with the attacks of the fever and ague their countenances assume a pale sallow hue, and their bodies are often reduced to mere skeletons. If the white people can recover from these repeated attacks upon their health, they may stand a chance of realizing considerable property; and he informed me that several of the present rich planters of South Carolina were formerly overseers.

He told me of a young gentleman, the son of a respectable French family in Charleston, who, fired with enthusiasm in the cause of the French revolution, would not rest till he had entered the French army, which was then fighting on the frontiers of the kingdom against the combined powers of the continent. For this purpose, and contrary to the wishes of his parents, he went to Guernsey, where he became acquainted with my informant, at whose house he resided till a convenient opportunity offered for him to reach the French coast. In the mean time he was apprehended by the governor, and sent to England on suspicion of being a French spy. He however contrived to make his escape, and went back again to his friend in Guernsey, who concealed him in his house upwards of six weeks disguised in women's clothes. At length, having purchased an open boat, they both embarked in the night, and went over to the coast of France. The young

man immediately joined the French army on the frontiers, and was killed about six months afterwards. He had given my host letters to his friends in Charleston, and from the representations he gave of America, the former was induced to emigrate to that country. In 1794 he arrived at Charleston. The young man's friends received him with much attention, and did every thing in their power to forward his views, but without success.

I retired to rest about ten o'clock, but did not lie very comfortably, as the camp bedstead, which had been placed in the room for my accommodation, was unfortunately half a leg too short. It was, however, so much superior to a night's lodging in a tree, which I had narrowly escaped, that I should have been ungrateful to have complained of my situation.

The next morning I arose at six, and, having breakfasted, again set forward on my journey. It was a beautiful morning, and I felt the want of nothing but a pleasant companion, to whom I might communicate my thoughts: without this, travelling is dreary and melancholy, even in the best cultivated parts of America: but with a fellow-traveller I should have no objection to *walk* from one end of the Union to the other: from Brewster's in Maine to St. Mary's in Georgia; from the shores of Philadelphia to the banks of the Ohio.

After walking two or three miles I came to a large plantation. Here the negroes were employed in hoeing the earth, clearing the neighbouring forests, and carrying the wood upon their heads to different parts for the purpose of fencing in the grounds; men, women, and children were all busily engaged under the superintendance of an overseer. The house, which was but indifferent, stood a considerable distance from the road. I saw no cattle or poultry of any description; indeed, a plantation has very rarely the comfortable appearance of a farm.

A little further I overtook a negro with a basket on his head returning to Ashepoo from Charleston, where he had been to dispose of some poultry and game. I had passed this negro yesterday, just after quitting Charleston; and at the time I lost my way he most probably passed along the other road, as he slept at the plantation just beyond the twenty-three mile house. This man told me that he generally went twice a-week from Ashepoo to Charleston, a distance of fifty miles, with poultry and game, to sell at market for his master, who was a planter. He brought back whatever the family wanted from the city; and he always made these journeys on foot without shoe or stocking. He was a very civil fellow, and I found his company by no means despicable in the midst of a dreary pine barren. He was about forty years

old, and a native of the country. He seemed happy and contented with his situation, and perfectly resigned to his destiny.

The scene along this road was very little different to that of yesterday; but I was oftener saluted with the sound of the woodman's axe, though frequently at a considerable distance. A great number of red and blue birds, about the size of a thrush, appeared among the trees, and enlivened the woods with their gay plumage and cheerful notes. I saw few other birds, the season being rather too early for the appearance of that variety with which this State abounds.

About 12 o'clock I arrived at Jacksonborough, having passed the Edisto river in a ferry-boat, within a quarter of a mile of the village. At this river, as well as at Rantowle's creek, there are bridges; but both are damaged by the freshes, or high tides, which take place in the spring of the year. The Edisto is shallow, and incapable of being navigated far up its stream by boats of heavy burthen. In a full river the navigation of its northern branch is open as far as Orangeburgh; and its southern branch is also navigable some miles, until it is interrupted by many islands and shoals, which at one place are thickly scattered in the river. When the river is low, it is fordable at Parker's ferry, about thirty-five miles from the sea; and during the revolutionary war field-pieces

were dragged across its channel in that place. This river takes its rise in the middle country, from the ridge of high land which lies between the Congaree and Savannah rivers.

Jacksonborough is a small village containing about twenty or thirty houses. It was much larger; but a fire some years ago destroyed several buildings, and they have not since been rebuilt. The houses have small pieces of ground and gardens attached to them; but very little land is cleared in the vicinity of the place. In 1782, when Charleston was in the hands of the British troops, the different branches of the State government were convened here; and in this place the acts of confiscation and banishment were passed against citizens of the state who were unfriendly to the American revolution.

I stopped at the only tavern in the village, and shortly after the stage coach from Charleston came up to the door. The passengers alighted, and staid here to dine: I followed their example; and when the stage was ready to depart I got in with them, intending only to go as far as Pocotaligo, about thirty miles from Jacksonborough, where we should put up for the night. I was the more inclined to this, as I should start fresh the next morning, after resting a considerable time from the fatigues of the preceding days.

The passengers in the stage were an American lady and two children; two Frenchmen and two Americans. The coach was the same kind as those used in the northern states, open in front, and with leather curtains let down at the back and sides. As there were nine of us including the driver, who sat on the front seat, the coach was pretty well filled. After travelling a few miles I found my thin dress was too cool for riding, particularly as the weather became cloudy, and threatened to rain. Unfortunately I had not scrambled like the rest to get a birth on one of the back seats, by which I might have been sheltered from the cold breeze which now began to spring up. I was therefore obliged to sit in front; and though the rest were all muffled up in thick great coats, not one of them had the politeness to offer to change places with me. However, I was determined, when we alighted, that my civility should not prevent me, as it had done at Jacksonborough, from procuring a more comfortable seat. About a mile from Jacksonborough there is a small church, the first I had seen since leaving Charleston: it is situated in a small burying-ground, in a retired and romantic spot amidst the forest. It serves the inhabitants for many miles round as a place of worship; but I know not to what sect it belongs.

One of the French gentlemen had lately arrived from Bourdeaux, and the other from Martinique. As there was but little general conversation, the Americans were not very loquacious; and the Frenchmen conversed mostly by themselves. Their conversation, which was chiefly on American subjects and politics, was highly amusing to me. The one from Bourdeaux, I found, was a traveller; but I could not learn his name, though I had some reason to believe that he was the celebrated naturalist Michaux; who, as well as his father, has travelled much over the American states. I recollected his face at New York, and soon learnt that he had arrived there from Bourdeaux in 1807. He had travelled from New York to Charleston by land within the last three weeks. He made several observations upon the Americans, and complained much of the rudeness of the lower orders of the people. "The liberty of the Americans," says he, "degenerates into impertinence: theirs is not the liberty of the soul, but its insolence. The driver sat down to the same table with us at dinner: this he would not have dared to do had he known his company to be persons of distinction or rich planters. The rich, therefore, in this land of *liberty* are relieved from the insolence of the lower orders, but strangers and the middling classes are obliged to suffer." This practice of the driver taking his meals at the

same table with his passengers I never met with except in South Carolina and Georgia. In the northern states I was always treated with the greatest civility by the stage-coachmen, who seldom or never came into the same room with the passengers, much less sat down to dinner with them. It was, however, curious enough to hear a Frenchman, who might naturally be supposed to have fraternized for the last seventeen years with the lowest dregs of his own countrymen, complaining of the rudeness and brutality of the common people in America towards gentlemen. From some observations which afterwards fell from him, it appeared, that though partial to the revolution, he was no friend to the existing government of France.

He spoke severely against the despotism of Bonaparte, who he said had trampled upon the liberties of his country, and deceived the people by the false glare of martial achievements. "Into what a deplorable state of anarchy and confusion," says he, "will our unfortunate country be thrown when that tyrant dies! It will be torn to pieces by his relations and generals, all of whom will think they have an equal right to govern. The people will not know whom to trust, or in whom to confide their liberties. The nation will be convulsed to the centre: the reign of terror will again commence, and hosts of external foes will attempt to

wrest from France the countries which the present chief has so unjustly acquired; and, when once success has emboldened them, who shall say where they will stop! Then will they indeed retaliate upon unfortunate France the evils which her revolution, like the opening of Pandora's box, has spread over the face of the globe. I hope," continued he, "for the sake of my country, that I may prove a bad prophet; but, when Buonaparte is no more, I cannot see how, or in what manner, such a state of things can be avoided. At present, he is the life and soul of every thing around him; the pivot upon which all things move; the great corner stone of the gigantic fabric, which he has raised to immortalize his name. Take him away, and the whole building must inevitably tumble into one undistinguished mass of ruins."

I could not help admiring the justness of his remarks; and, if we look into the history of nations, we shall find that events, such as he predicts, have generally followed the ambitious aggrandizement of those individuals who have trampled upon the liberties of mankind for the purpose of immortalizing themselves as heroes and demigods.

The French gentleman declared that the English government was the best in the world. It

was indeed at times liable to be abused; but the spirit of the people, originating from the nature of their constitution, would never suffer it to enslave them, or materially injure their liberties. The American government, he said, wanted stability; it depended too much upon the will of the mob; but next to the English government he preferred it to any other. When settled, he intended to reside in England, until France should be restored to her legitimate form of government; at present, he said, all countries were alike to him, who was a traveller.

The other gentleman formerly resided in Martinique, but for several years past had settled in Georgia as a planter. He was now returning home from a visit which he had made to that island upon some mercantile concerns: and, from what I could learn of his sentiments, he was strongly attached to the American government.

We arrived at Pocotaligo about nine o'clock, and stopped at a miserable post-house or tavern. The stage from Savannah had arrived two or three hours before us; and there being several passengers in it, all the beds were occupied, and most of the provisions consumed. We were therefore obliged to proceed on to Coosywhatchie, about six miles further, where we procured accommodations for the night. The mail bag, which is

carried by the stage, is opened at Pocotaligo, and the letters sorted for the post-office at Coosywhatchie. The coaches also meet at the former place, and receive each other's passengers.

Coosywhatchie is a small village, 73 miles from Charleston, containing a tavern, a post-office, two or three stores, and a few farm houses. The place retains its ancient name from a nation of Coosah Indians who formerly resided on the spot. It is in the neighbourhood of a small river navigable for vessels of light burthen, and several rich planters reside within the circumference of a few miles, in the vicinity of this village.

Unfortunately for the continuation of my pedestrian excursion, the weather next morning appeared extremely unfavourable. The sky was lowering, and large black clouds, surcharged with their fluid matter, seemed ready to burst every moment over our heads. As I had no inclination for a romantic tour through the woods, on foot, during a thunder-storm or violent hurricane, which are very common in this country, I thought it more advisable to proceed in the coach. I accordingly took care to secure a more comfortable seat than fell to my lot the day before, and at seven o'clock we left Coosywhatchie.

About a mile from the village we once more entered the pine barrens, but the sameness of the road was at times relieved by an open swamp, in

the neighbourhood of a small stream ; and in those places we generally saw a few plantations, and now and then a handsome house. The wooden bridges over the small rivers were very dangerous, being composed only of a few loose planks, with openings wide enough for a horse's leg to slip through ; we however met with no accident, and the road in general was uncommonly good. A number of deer, which had been started most probably by hunters in the forest, bounded across the road in several places, as we passed along. The storm which appeared likely to have descended upon us in the early part of the morning, now dissolved into small mizzling rain ; and on our arrival at Purrysburgh at one o'clock it increased to a heavy shower. The weather also became unpleasantly cold, and we were happy to get by the side of a good fire to warm ourselves.

The house where we stopped to dine belonged to the driver of the coach, and his wife had every thing ready for us upwards of two hours before our arrival. Purrysburgh is a paltry village, situated near the banks of the Savannah river, about 97 miles from Charleston, and 23 from the town of Savannah. It contains scarcely a dozen houses, and they are occupied by the poorer sort of people. The tumuli of an Indian nation, which formerly resided here, are still visible, and carefully preserved by the inhabitants. Purrysburgh was ori-

ginally a place of some note, from a colony of Swiss, which was established there for the purpose of cultivating silk and vineyards. It was named after Colonel John Peter Purry, a Swiss officer, who effected the settlement under the British government about eighty years ago. At one time a considerable quantity of silk was raised in South Carolina and Georgia, but it has since given place to the more lucrative productions of cotton and rice. The soil and climate are allowed to be well adapted to the raising of silk. Mulberry-trees grow spontaneously in various places, and native silk worms, producing well-formed cocoons, are often found in the woods.

The stage coach proceeds no further than Purrysburgh, a boat being provided to carry the mail and passengers down the river to Savannah, a distance of 25 miles. The State pays 1500 dollars per annum for the carriage of the mail, so that the comfort of passengers is often less regarded by the proprietors than the bag of letters. It happened unluckily for me, there were so many passengers, and so much baggage, that the usual covered boat was too small to hold us, and the conductor of the mail was obliged to procure a large canoe, but without any awning or shelter whatever. This was no very agreeable conveyance for twenty-five miles in rainy weather, and I was in doubt whether to go with them, or stay for a more

favourable opportunity; but, having borrowed a great coat from the boatman, I embarked with the rest.

We started from Purrysburgh about two o'clock, and were rowed by four negroes, for canoes are not paddled here as in Canada. They seemed to be jolly fellows, and rowed lustily to a boat-song of their own composing. The words were given out by one of them, and the rest joined chorus at the end of every line. It began in the following manner:

	CHORUS.
"We are going down to Georgia, boys,	Aye, aye.
To see the pretty girls, boys;	Yoe, yoe.
We'll give 'em a pint of brandy, boys,	Aye, aye.
And a hearty kiss besides, boys.	Yoe, yoe.
&c. &c. &c."	

The tune of this ditty was rather monotonous, but had a pleasing effect, as they kept time with it at every stroke of their oars. The words were mere nonsense; any thing in fact, which came into their heads. I however remarked that brandy was very frequently mentioned, and it was understood as a hint to the passengers to give them a dram. We had supplied ourselves with this article at Purrysburgh, and were not sparing of it to the negroes, in order to encourage them to row quick. During the passage it rained incessantly, and prevented me from seeing the river to advantage.

By the time we arrived at Savannah it was nearly dark, and our rowers, who were pretty far gone, in consequence of their frequent libations of brandy, had nearly upset the canoe, under the cable of a ship which was lying off the town. At length we all landed in safety near the Exchange, and in company with one of the American gentlemen I proceeded immediately to Colonel Shelman's hotel.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Savannah—Col. Shelman's Hotel—Yazoo Bubble—Character of the Georgians—Settlement of Georgia—Augusta—St. Mary's—Town of Savannah—Houses—Streets—Pride of India—Promenade—The Exchange—Assembly-Room—Population of Savannah—Burying-Ground—Hurricane of 1806*—Arts and Sciences—Military Force—Religion—American Fanaticism—Camp Meetings—Blasphemous Scenes—Midnight Orgies in the Forest, compared with the gentle and sublime Conduct of the Redeemer—Mild Doctrines of Christianity—The Christian Religion, a Religion of Charity and Benevolence to all the World.*

The hotel of Colonel Shelman affords better accommodation than any other house of the kind in Savannah; but there are two or three genteel boarding-houses for those who prefer living in private. The Colonel received me very politely; but I had scarcely sat down, when he entered upon politics, condemned the embargo, which he declared would ruin him and his family, and deprecated the conduct of Mr. Jefferson and the

government. At first I was cautious how I entered into conversation with him, for I had frequently met with democrats, who threw out a few words to sound the sentiments of people, and, if they did not happen to coincide with their principles, would abuse them unmercifully. But happening to espy a portrait of General Washington in the room, my doubts ceased, and upon a little conversation with him, I found that he was a staunch federalist. He had formerly been a Colonel in the continental army, under Washington; and, like all the old officers of that army, was firmly attached to the political principles of his great leader.

He had resided several years in the back country as a planter, but had lately come to Savannah to try his success in a tavern. The house which he took not being large enough, he built another close to it. This he has fitted up with *separate* sleeping rooms, which are very seldom met with in the taverns of this part of the country. A large hall below serves as a refectory; and at eight o'clock we sat down in this room to supper. There were upwards of twenty gentlemen present, some of whom lodged in the house, and others who merely took their meals there; the latter were principally clerks in the State bank and other offices. Here I met with several gentlemen who had come to Savannah to collect in

the outstanding debts which were owing to them when in business several years past. Among the rest was Mr. M'C—, the old gentleman whom I before mentioned as speculating so unfortunately in his courtship with Mrs. S. of Charleston. He resides in England, but occasionally takes a voyage to America to recover his property. He, as well as the other gentlemen, complained much of the backwardness of the planters of Carolina and Georgia in paying their debts; and though they had put the accounts into lawyers' hands, the money came in very slowly. They complained greatly of the embargo, which had increased the difficulty of recovering their debts, particularly since the judges of the courts of law in Georgia had put a stop, for a certain period, to the levying of executions in that State.

If the statements of several persons with whom I conversed while I remained at Colonel Shelman's, are to be credited, the people of Georgia are indolent and dissipated; not very scrupulous as to their moral character; fond of money to excess, but careless by what means it is obtained. Even in a public capacity, they will frequently resort to means not the most honourable, as was the case in the Yazoo Bubble, which will be an everlasting stain upon the character of their government. In the year 1795 the State of Georgia, under the great seal, and signed by Governor Matthews,

granted and sold to certain individuals, associated in companies, by the title of the "Georgia Company," "Georgia Mississippi Company," and the "Tennessee Company," a vast tract of land lying within the limits of Georgia, for the consideration of a sum of money to be paid into the treasury of that State. Many individuals purchased lands from the different companies, at a great price, and settlements were rapidly taking place, when the whole scheme was at once blown to atoms. The purchase-money had scarcely been paid into the treasury by the respective companies, when Governor Matthews quitted his office, and was succeeded by a man of the name of Jackson, remarkable for his violent antipathy to the federal party and all their measures. No sooner was he established in his government, than he caused a bill to pass the legislature, declaring the sale of the Yazoo lands illegal and void. He next seized the records, and burnt them before the court-house in the presence of a majority of the assembly, who applauded the action. In vain did the purchasers and every honest man remonstrate against such an infamous proceeding, but neither money nor land could they obtain. The State of Georgia afterwards made over the lands to the United States, leaving it to the general government to satisfy the claims of the creditors. But though it is now eighteen years since this nefari-

ous transaction took place, their claims yet remain unliquidated, and even opposed by a majority of the house of representatives.

The Georgians are said to be great œconomists; that is to say, they hate to part with their money even for the most useful purposes. In the house of assembly, a member who aims at popularity has only to oppose all public works and improvements that are likely to take the money out of the pockets of the people, and he is sure to gain his end. The planters are poor and miserable when living on their plantations, though perhaps possessed of immense landed property. They have less of the free and generous extravagance of the Carolinian planters, though, like them, they are always in debt, and every one complains of the difficulty of getting money from them. Horse-jockeying and racing are favourite amusements with the people, and they do not scruple to bet high on those occasions. Upon the whole, they possess all the bad but very few of the good qualities of their Carolinian neighbours. Gouging, and other unfair fighting, is, however, equally practised in both places, and individuals of each will frequently *pluck out an eye, or bite off a nose,* for the *honour* of their respective States.

The raising of silk and the planting of vines were the principal objects of the first settlers in Georgia; and though it appears that the soil

and climate are congenial to both these articles, yet the colony remained poor till the introduction of rice and cotton, which are now its staple commodities.

The country was settled in 1733 by General Oglethorpe, who conducted the first colonists in person. They fixed upon a large plain on the banks of the Savannah river, about ten miles from the sea, for the building of a town. This settlement, now the town of Savannah, at first consisted of no more than 100 persons, but before the end of the year the number had increased to upwards of 600. In 1735 the population of Georgia was increased by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders. Their natural courage induced them to accept of some lands that were offered them on the southern frontier, near the river Altamaha, in order to form an establishment that might prove a defence to the colony, when necessary, against the attacks of the Spaniards in Florida. There they built the towns of New Inverness and Frederica, and several of their countrymen went over and settled among them. A number of German protestants, driven out of Saltzburg by the intemperate zeal of a fanatical priest, also embarked for Georgia about the same time, in order to enjoy peace and liberty of conscience. At first they settled in the neighbourhood of the capital; but

afterwards judging it proper to be at a greater distance, they built the town of Ebenezer.

In these four settlements, some people were found more inclined to trade than agriculture; they therefore separated from the rest, in order to build the city of Augusta, on the banks of the Savannah, about 236 miles distant from the sea. The neighbouring territory is fertile in an extraordinary degree; but though that circumstance adds to the convenience of the settlers, it was not the motive which induced them to fix upon this situation; the convenience of trading with the Indians led them to fix here, and their project was so successful, that as early as 1739 six hundred people were employed in that trade only. Augusta is now a populous city, and the seat of government in Georgia; and though the traffic in furs is now no longer of any importance, yet Augusta is the medium of a very extensive trade between the upper and lower parts of the State. Scows, carrying each 500 bags of cotton, besides numerous barges and sloops, are continually passing between Augusta and Savannah; at which latter place the productions of the interior are shipped for every quarter of the globe. Augusta contains about 4000 inhabitants, several handsome houses, churches, and stores. The town is regularly laid out, and is in many respects superior to Savannah. Three

newspapers are published there in the course of the week.

St. Mary's is the frontier town of Georgia, on the confines of Florida, about 95 miles from Savannah. It is a small town, of no great importance, otherwise than as a receptacle for imposition and worthless characters. Smuggling and shuffling tricks are carried on here with success; and it was the medium for evading the embargo laws. It is separated from Florida only by the St. Mary's river. Vessels arrive here from the northern states, and run their cargoes in small boats across to the Spanish coast, from whence they are shipped to the West Indies. I met with several persons at Colonel Shelman's, who were going to St. Mary's on these mercantile speculations. The road from Savannah to St. Mary's is very indifferent, and the stage goes no further than Darien; from thence the mail and passengers proceed in a canoe for upwards of forty miles coastwise, between the numerous islands and the sea. In the spring of 1808 the mail-boat was lost in its passage; and two monks, who happened to be passengers in it, were drowned.

The town of Savannah is built upon an open sandy plain, which forms a cliff, or, as the Americans term it, a *bluff*, by the shore, about 50 feet above the level of the river. It is well laid out for a warm climate, in the form of a parallelogram,

about a mile and a quarter long, and half a mile wide. The streets are wide, and open into spacious squares, each of which has a pump in the centre, surrounded by a small plantation of trees. A great disadvantage, however, to the town, is the total want of foot-paths and pavement. Improvements of this nature would render walking more agreeable, and the town more cool and healthy. At present, one sinks at every step up to the ancles in sand ; and in windy weather the eyes, mouth, and nostrils are filled with it. The magistrates are charged with neglect for not paving and improving the town ; but *œconomy* is their *foible.*

The houses are mostly built of wood, and stand separate from each other, divided by court-yards, except in two or three streets, where they are close built, many of them with brick, and contain several shops and stores. One large range of brick buildings stands near the market-place, and at a distance has the appearance of an hospital. It is the property of one person, who built it on a speculation. It is divided into distinct houses, the ground-floor being appropriated to retail stores, and the upper apartments to private lodgings. But the principal street is that called the Bay, where there are several very good houses of brick and wood. Some contain booksellers, grocers, and drapers' stores, others are private dwellings.

This range of buildings extends nearly three quarters of a mile along the town; and opposite to it is a beautiful walk or mall, planted with a double row of trees, the same as those at Charleston—(*Melia Azedarach*, or Pride of India). These trees are also planted in different parts of the town, but I cannot persuade myself that they are friendly to the health of the inhabitants. The shade of their thick foliage, however, forms an agreeable relief from the scorching beams of the sun, and they never engender or harbour any noxious insects upon their branches; which are advantages that have brought them into repute both in Charleston and Savannah.

This agreeable promenade is situated near the margin of the height or bluff upon which the town stands; and the merchants' stores, warehouses, and wharfs, for landing, housing, and shipping of goods, are built immediately below, along the shore, forming in some degree a sort of lower town. From the height there is a fine commanding view of the Savannah river as far as the sea, and for several miles above the town. The river is intersected by several extensive swamp islands, which divide it into different channels. They have been converted into excellent rice-grounds, as they lie very low, and are easily inundated at the proper seasons, which the culture of that grain requires. The negroes employed in

that work live on the islands, in small wooden huts, exposed to the night dews and exhalations from the marshy soil, surrounded also by frequent fogs off the water. The continual moisture and dampness in which they live, would kill a white man in a few months. In the first settlement of the colony, negroes were prohibited to the settlers, but they now nearly equal the white population.

About the centre of the walk, and just on the verge of the cliff, stands the Exchange, a large brick building, which contains some public offices; and an assembly-room, where a concert and ball are held once a fortnight during the winter. I went to the top of this building, upon which there is a steeple, and had a very extensive panorama view of the town, the shipping, the river, and surrounding country. The prospect was bounded by immense forests, and very little land appeared cleared in the vicinity of the town.

By a census taken eight or nine years ago, the population of Savannah consisted of 3009 whites, and free people of colour; and 2376 slaves, making a total of 5385. At present it is supposed to be about 6000. The public buildings consist of the Branch bank of the United States; the Exchange; four or five places of worship; and a gaol, built upon the common, some distance from town. The latter is a large strong brick building, and

well adapted for the confinement of refractory negroes, and other offenders against the laws.

A large burying-ground is judiciously situated out of town, upon the common. It is inclosed by a brick wall, and contains several monuments and tomb-stones, which are shaded by willows and pride of India; and have a very pretty effect. This cemetery, though now a considerable distance from the town, will, in time, most probably, be surrounded by the dwellings of the inhabitants, like those of New York and Charleston. In hot climates, these places infect the atmosphere with unwholesome exhalations, and injure the health of the people. They should at least be two or three miles away from all habitations. But Savannah is not likely to increase very rapidly; for adventurers reside there as at Charleston, merely for the purpose of accumulating a speedy fortune in trade; and then retire either to their native country, or to some other part more congenial to health and comfort.

The situation of Savannah, and the plan upon which it is laid out, would, if the town contained better houses, render it far more agreeable as a place of residence than Charleston. Its greater elevation, I should think, must also be more conducive to the health of the inhabitants than the low and flat situation of the latter city. Both, however, are in the neighbourhood of swamps,

marshes, and thick woods, which are apt to engender diseases injurious to the constitution of white people. Georgia, like Carolina, is subject to frequent storms, hurricanes, and inundations. In 1806 a hurricane tore up the grove of trees on the Bay of Savannah, did great damage to the town and shipping, levelled all the negro huts on the swamp islands, and destroyed several of the negroes. Savannah has also suffered much from fire.

Since the revolutionary war, Georgia, like most of the other States in the Union, has rapidly increased in population and riches: but she cannot boast of equal rapidity in arts, sciences, and literature. With respect to these embellishments of civilized society, Georgia is yet in the *Gothic age*. Savannah contains five or six respectable bookstores, and publishes three newspapers; two of which are attached to federal principles. The military force of the State consists of militia; but Savannah has several corps of volunteers, infantry and cavalry, who clothe and equip themselves at their own expense. During my stay they exercised for several days on Fort Wayne. This fortification is situated at the extremity of the cliff, and in the American war formed the chief defence of the town. It is now nearly destroyed.

Presbyterianism, independency, and methodism, are the most prevailing forms of worship

among the inhabitants of Savannah. There are a few Jews, but no Quakers. I went one evening to hear Mr. Conoch, the favourite preacher of the Presbyterians. I cannot say that I admired his delivery, which had a fault too common to the clergymen of the United States, viz. *monotony*. His voice, likewise, was so loud, that it became harsh and grating to the ear; but his pronunciation was clear and distinct. This gentleman is allowed, by his congregation, a salary of 3000 dollars per annum, besides the pews in the chapel which bring him in 7000 dollars more; some of the pews being let for upwards of 160 dollars per annum. This enormous sum for one clergyman, in such a small town as Savannah, is rather surprising; particularly as the people are proverbial for œconomy. But enthusiasm and extravagance in religion are often irresistible; and many persons belonging to the dissenting sects, even in England, have been known to reduce themselves almost to absolute poverty in the support of their ministers, to the great injury of their own families; it would be well if they had always met with a grateful return for such disinterested generosity.

The Sunday after my arrival at Savannah I was passing a methodist meeting, and was induced, by the vehemence of the preacher, to go in and hear his discourse. He uttered such terrible im-

precations upon sinners, unless they were born again in faith, that one half of his congregation were groaning and weeping in the most pitiable manner: he seemed to take delight in viewing their distress, conceiving it (I suppose) a mark of their contrition and repentance; but I rather think it was owing more to the terrifying loudness of his voice, his furious looks, and vehement gesticulations, than to a real sense of their own wickedness. Where this scene of woe and agitation would have stopped I know not, had the preacher continued his thundering anathemas much longer; for some of the women were on the point of fainting away, or going into hysterics, when he fortunately lowered his voice into a short concluding prayer: this restored his congregation to their senses, dried up their tears, and reduced the groans and screams of the females to inward sobs and plaintive sighs. But such an assemblage of wretched looks, and pale, ghastly countenances, I never before saw: they seemed, indeed, to have suffered severe castigation for their sins even in this world. Instead of benefiting by the mild and consolatory precepts of Christianity, these people appeared to be lost in a sea of doubt and perplexity; and seemed to think of nothing but everlasting damnation, unless perchance they construed a *griping of the bowels* into the *workings of divine grace.*

In no part of the world, perhaps, is religious fanaticism carried to a more extravagant height than in the United States, by a few artful designing men, who contrive to delude the simple and unwary into the most shameful and blasphemous excesses. These fanatics, or artful hypocrites, regularly advertise what they call "camp meetings," in different parts of the country, and invite all "friendly ministers and praying people" to attend. I never had an opportunity of being present at one of these meetings; but I am told that the scenes which are exhibited on these occasions often beggar all description. The following account of a recent camp meeting is by an American gentleman who was present; and may, therefore, be considered as a correct though inadequate description of the midnight orgies and revels of those deluded and artful enthusiasts.

"Of late, in America, the Methodists have reduced jumping, clapping, and shouting, to a system. Camp meetings are held in the open fields; and if convenient, in a circular form, at a distance from human habitations, in which their orgies are continued several days, until by their violent, or as they term it religious exercise, they are exhausted. They make all manner of religious gestures, discordant noises, and frequently utter blasphemies. They sleep together in tents, old and young; men, women, and children indiscriminately; the

vigorous male near the unblushing female; black and white, all together.

" I was present lately at one of these diabolical meetings, at which there might be about 5000 persons assembled, of all descriptions and ages. They bring their provisions with them. Soon after the rising of the sun a beautiful girl about eighteen rushed forth from the tent led by two men; they cried, bellowed, and roared, like persons in the utmost agony begging for their lives; exclaiming, a lake of fire and brimstone was flaming before them; that a great devil was thrusting them into it; and that God must come down. ' *Come, O God, come down immediately and save us, or we shall sink.*' These exclamations were repeated in the most vociferous manner for a length of time, until the young woman was so exhausted by her exertions that she fell down. Her cheek assumed the flush of burning fire; her eyes became inflamed; her lips parched; she sank on the earth, sighed and sobbed like a child. This ceremony, however, was not completed until a similar party had issued from another tent; and that followed by a second and a third, until the action became general, and the scene the most confused, terrific, and horrible ever presented to the human eye. Little children turned pale with fear; young girls fainted to the earth, were raised up, converted, and became good Methodists. Such real agonies,

perhaps, were never elsewhere excited by fictitious causes.

"It appears that the first girl was kept as a decoy, and had frequently gone through those scenes in a similar way. Designing men are, no doubt, at the bottom of this business; and many simple, innocent souls are led on thus, and persuaded of their sincerity. But many also, who have no design, are by their fanaticism and violence of passion induced to commit actions, and make exclamations, which justify the charge of blasphemy. This is by no means an exaggerated picture; it is but a weak attempt at describing what has taken place: but it is their midnight orgies which appal the heart.

"At one of their meetings near Morristown a young woman fainted; immediately they crowded around her and began their incantations. Her brother with difficulty forced his way to her, and attempted to take her into the air, but they prevented him. An athletic young *heretic* saw their situation; forced his way through a crowd of demons with a stout bludgeon, and liberated them. The brother, assisted by his friend, took her to a place of security, and by force opposed their coming near her again. A tall woman of the sect tossed up her hands,—roared,—bellowed with all her strength, and called upon God to '*open the earth and sink them into hell!*'

"Their camp meetings are generally held in a wood; deep, dark, lonely, and almost impenetrable, far from any human habitation. The native burghers of the forest are frightened from their wild retreat, and driven from their home to make way for these midnight worshippers of the most extravagant superstition. Here the cauldron is set a-boiling; and here, in this gloomy hour, the ingredients are cast in until the spell is wound up, and the weak and terrified mind becomes a converted Methodist."

One half of the converts to Methodism *in America* are made at camp meetings. What a contrast to the mild and heavenly conduct of the Redeemer! who, after instructing the multitude in the wilderness, fed them, and sent them quietly to their homes. He terrified them not with wild and furious gestures and imprecations; he caused none to faint,—to fall down with fear and trembling, and to exclaim, *that a lake of fire and brimstone was flaming before them!* He resorted not to such unnatural means to reclaim his auditors from sin and wickedness. His doctrines were mild and peaceable, and his actions corresponded with them. He uttered no thundering denunciations; no blasphemous curses, nor deadly maledictions. He invited the repentant by gentleness and kindness; not repelled him by horrible threatenings. His tongue dropped manna upon all who heard

him, and his spirit breathed *peace and good-will to all mankind!*

The Christian religion (says a writer of eminence) is in every shape agreeable to the divine justice, which does not punish man for speculative opinions, and particularly for such as are incomprehensible to all mankind. It is a religion every way worthy of its eternal Author; *and we may know by the doctrine that it comes from God.* It is a religion for men of sense, for philosophers, for honest men, and comprehensible too by the meanest vulgar without a guide; a religion of reason, free from the blind mazes and studied intricacies of designing people, and beneficial to society at first view. It despises apish gestures and external buffoonery; and effectually prevents and puts an end to all inhuman fierceness and holy squabbles, too often occasioned by the selfish religions of corrupt priests and enthusiasts. It leaves not unhappy men in perpetual doubts and anxieties; nor tosses and tumbles them, for relief, out of one superstition into another, *but esteems them all alike.* In short, it is a religion which every honest man would wish it to be—*a religion of charity and benevolence to all the world!*

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Leave Savannah—Excursion up Savannah River—Inundations—Swamp Plantations—Alligators—Anecdote of an Alligator—Terrebins—Water Vipers—Rattle Snakes—Journey through the Woods—Black Snakes—Variety of Birds—Beautiful Plumage—An Adventure in the Woods—A disinterested Physician—Fire in the Forest—Immense Body of Smoke—Seasons of South Carolina—Cotton Plantations—Bad Roads—Waggoners or Crackers—Roads of South Carolina—Arrive at Charleston.

After a stay of nearly six days at Savannah, I set out on my return to Charleston, in company with a Scotch gentleman of the name of Chapman, with whom I had been acquainted some months previous to our meeting at Savannah. I was now happy to have a companion with me, to relieve the tedium of a journey through the lonely pine barrens. We left Savannah about nine o'clock in the morning of the 18th of March, in the mail boat, with the same conductor and negro boatmen as I came down the river with the week before. The morning was remarkably fine, and

the weather so warm, that we found the benefit of a covered boat to screen the powerful beams of the sun from our heads. We were the only passengers; and we found ourselves equally comfortable without the company of strangers, not always the most agreeable companions on a journey.

The Savannah river, which waters nearly the whole of the northern frontier of Georgia, is bold and deep; and from the sea to Augusta, a distance of 236 miles, is navigable for vessels of 70 tons burthen. At that city the falls of the river commence; beyond, the navigation is continued for 60 miles, to Vienna, for boats of 30 tons or more, from whence it is contemplated to open the navigation up to Andersonville, at the confluence of Tugoloo and Keowee rivers. These latter are large branches of the Savannah river; the first being upwards of 200 yards wide a considerable way above their confluence; and the latter spreading itself over a greater space. Hence, when the accumulated waters of rain and snow pour down their channels, the adjacent low lands and intervals are overflowed with destructive freshes or inundations. These freshes will sometimes rise from 30 to 40 feet perpendicular above the usual level of the river. In 1701 a very destructive one occurred in part of the country; and in 1796 a similar flood poured down the Savannah river, laying the town of Augusta upwards of two feet

under water, and damaging goods therein to a large amount. It tore away an extensive bridge near 800 feet long, belonging to Mr. Wade Hampton, which had been thrown over that river from South Carolina, and carried destruction and dismay before it quite to the town of Savannah. The height of this fresh was supposed to be from 35 to 40 feet at Augusta above its common level. This inundation also occasioned immense damage in South Carolina, where the waters rose to as great a height as in Georgia. Several bridges were carried away; and many of the negro huts on the islands and swamp plantations near the coast were torn up with the people in them, and carried by the torrent entirely out to sea.

Proceeding up Savannah river we were regaled with a variety of beautiful views. Numerous small islands intersect and divide the river into pretty meandering channels. The shores are mostly lined with large forest trees, and the islands with abundance of small shrubs. A few plantations appear at intervals upon the banks, with now and then a handsome house; but in general we saw only the negro huts. Many of the slaves were at work upon the rice swamps, which are very numerous along the right bank of the river.

As we proceeded up the river we saw a great number of alligators of various sizes; the largest which we met with was about eight feet long, and

from 16 to 18 inches diameter in the thickest part of its body. They were either swimming along shore, with their heads just above water, or were basking in the sun upon the branches of trees which projected into the river. Their colour when just coming out of the water is a dark green, or brown; but when dry it resembles that of a log of wood. We fired at several, but are not certain whether any were killed, for the balls often rebounded from their bodies as if they had struck a coat of mail. The eye or the breast are the most vulnerable places. In the upper parts of the river, I am told, they abound in great numbers, and of a very formidable size, growing frequently to the length of *eighteen* or *twenty feet*. They are said to be more sluggish and cunning than active or courageous: yet during our passage we had ocular demonstration of the intrepidity of a young one about four feet long. We discovered him lying near the root of a large tree; the boat approached within a few yards, but was prevented going close to the shore on account of the branches of trees which projected into the river. The man who had the charge of the mail fired at him with a musket loaded with ball. The ball passed just over the alligator, yet he moved not in the least. This made us believe he was dead, as all the rest we had fired at sprang into the water the moment they heard the report of the gun. Mr. Chapman

now fired a large horse pistol with ball, and hit the root of the tree upon which he was basking: yet still the animal never stirred. We then absolutely declared him to be dead, and were just making our way with the boat through the branches of the trees to take him, when behold! the animal rose up, made a circuit round the tree against which he had reclined, and with the most apparent indifference *walked* into the water. He then swam slowly off, as if conscious of our inability to hurt him, and kept his eye steadily fixed upon us. We had not time to charge again; nor indeed had we any inclination, so much did we admire the coolness and intrepidity of this little animal. Previous to my seeing the alligators in this river, I had always an idea, from what I had read, that neither they nor crocodiles could bend their bodies; but when we fired at and wounded some that were seven or eight feet long, they twisted their bodies with as much ease, and nearly in the same manner, as a large eel, and plunged into the river.

We also saw a great many tortoises or terrebins basking in the sun, like the alligators, upon the trunks and branches of trees that grew in the water along shore. They were of various sizes, and are said to live in harmony with the alligator in the same hole, in which case the terrebins cannot form an article of food for that voracious animal, otherwise they would fly from his presence.

The variety of fish with which the Savannah abounds affords the alligator abundance of provision without infringing the rights of hospitality. Our conductor was a great foe to the alligators, and fired at every one he saw. He told us that he once got a young one in the boat, thinking he had completely killed it. For upwards of an hour it lay motionless; but, while they happened to go ashore, it availed itself of the opportunity to make its escape by plunging into the river. We were obliged to keep some distance from the trees and shrubs which hung over the banks of the river, as there were a great number of *water vipers* reclining upon the branches. They are apt to spring into the boat if it approaches too close, which is dangerous, as their bite is said to be venomous. We killed several of these noxious reptiles, who had coiled themselves up in an easy posture among the branches, for the double purpose of enjoying the warmth of the sun and catching small flies and insects. Besides these vipers, our conductor informed us that the shores abounded with a species of *water rattle-snake*, whose bite was also of a deadly nature.

About half-past three in the afternoon we arrived at Purrysburgh, after a pleasant excursion of 25 miles up the river, which fully recompensed me for the wet uncomfortable passage I had experienced down the same river the preceding

week. We dined at the driver's house; after which we departed from Purrysburgh in the stage. At one time we intended to have performed our journey on foot; but on consideration Mr. Chapman recollected that he had business which required him to be in Charleston as soon as possible, and it would have taken us at least four days to have walked there without inconvenience to ourselves. For my own part, I had already had a pretty good specimen of a pedestrian excursion in the pine forests, and was not eager to have another; but the road till within ten miles of Charleston was so remarkably straight, smooth, and level, with scarcely a stone, rut, hole, or hillock to impede our progress, that walking, provided the weather were fair, would have been equally agreeable to riding.

As the road was the same over which I had travelled but a few days before, there was nothing novel in any thing that offered itself to my notice, except that the increased warmth of the weather had brought out a number of black and other snakes from their holes: they were either running along the ground, or were suspended from the branches of trees. There was also a greater variety of birds, many of them of handsome plumage and agreeable note; but I had no opportunity to examine them minutely.

We stopped about nine o'clock to change horses,

at a small log-hut in the woods belonging to a man who had lately arrived there with his family to settle, and clear a portion of land which he had purchased. Mr. Chapman and I alighted from the coach to get some milk from the people: when we entered the hut we found the man lying by the fire upon a wretched bed on the bare earth, unable to turn himself on account of the rheumatism, which had almost taken away the use of one side. He was in great pain, and begged of us to tell him what would relieve the agony he had suffered for more than six weeks. For the first time in my life I became a *Physician*, and without a diploma from *Aberdeen* had the temerity to prescribe fomentations with flannels dipped in hot water, and a plentiful application of oil and hartshorn to be well rubbed by his obedient wife over the parts affected. I had no occasion to write a Latin prescription, as the coachman promised to bring him the articles on his return: neither did I demand the *usual fee;* for which, perhaps, I shall be considered by the College of Physicians as an *ignorant* practitioner. I am, however, in hopes that my *advice, gratis,* has been of service; unless, indeed, my patient neglected to have the crevices between the logs of his miserable hut filled up with clay or moss; for in every part of the habitation the cold wind, night air, dews, and fogs, gained an easy admit-

tance. No wonder he was unable to move for six weeks!

We arrived at Pocotaligo about midnight, an unusual late hour for the Savannah stage, as it has only 24 miles to run from Purrysburgh; but we had set out very late from Savannah, on account of the tide, and had spent rather too much time in shooting at alligators and snakes, otherwise we should have been there earlier. The coach from Charleston had been in upwards of three hours, and the passengers were gone to bed. As we had to start again at two o'clock, we did not think it worth while to lie down, and therefore took our seats by the fire-side after supper.

At two o'clock in the morning we left Pocotaligo, and its solitary tavern, without regret. The morning was dark and cloudy, and the driver was just able to see the road; but in the midst of a wood, where the path was so narrow, we could deviate very little from the track without running against the trees. This had nearly happened two or three times, and I expected every moment that we should come to the ground with the loss of a wheel.

The sun rose about six o'clock, but it was a considerable time before the dewy vapours, which had covered the ground during night, were dispersed. About an hour after, while yet in the midst of an extensive pine barren, we were sud-

denly enveloped in what we at first supposed to be a thick fog; but as we proceeded further on, we discovered it to be the smoke of a large fire in the forest. No flames, however, were discernible any where; and as we rode on, the smoke continued to thicken, insomuch that we could not see the two leaders; and it was with great difficulty we could draw our breath. Unaccustomed to such a scene, Mr. Chapman and I began to hesitate about going any further, for we expected every moment to be surrounded by the flames which had created such an immense body of smoke. Unfortunately, this was the only road, unless we had returned back to Pocotaligo, and gone down the road to Beaufort, which branches off towards Ashepoo-bridge; but this would have delayed us a whole day, and the coachman expected every moment to arrive at a log hut, to change horses, and where he meant to inquire whether the fire extended across the road, and would prevent us from passing.

We had now rode upwards of three miles through this thick cloud of smoke, and should have passed the hut, had not a negro been waiting on the road side for our arrival. Here we alighted while the horses were changing, and went into the hut, which was inhabited by two negroes employed to take care of the horses: they informed us, that the forest had been set on fire

a day or two before, to clear the ground of the long grass and brush-wood, and it being very dry weather, the fire had spread further than was intended: they did not think that it had reached the road, though the smoke had settled in the forest, in consequence of there being no wind to disperse it. I could not help pitying the situation of these two poor fellows, who resided in the neighbourhood of such a dreadful conflagration. When the horses were put to, the driver got one of the negroes to run before the leaders till we could get clear of the smoke, as the horses, being fresh out of the stable, could not see their way, and were much alarmed. In this manner we rode on for about a mile, when, fortunately, the smoke began to clear away; the negro then left us, and returned to his hut; but it was a considerable distance further before we were entirely free from smoke, and once more in broad day-light.

About half-past nine we arrived at Jacksonborough, where we breakfasted: at ten, we proceeded on our journey. The day was extremely fine; it had all the beauty of summer, without its sultry heat; all the trees and shrubs were in leaf, and many of them in blossom; the air was impregnated with the fragrant perfume of the yellow jasmines, and various species of honey-suckle and woodbine. A variety of beautiful birds enlivened the woods with their gay plumage and cheerful

notes. In short, all nature seemed to rejoice in the return of the most agreeable season of the year, and the only one that can be enjoyed with comfort in the lower part of this State. The winter is certainly warm and moderate, but the weather is unsettled. Trees, shrubs, and plants, are then destitute of their beautiful foliage and fragrant blossoms; and the fields, plantations, and gardens, want their verdant crops, their gay and lively flowers. At that season we see nothing but the deep unvarying tint of pines, firs, laurels, bays, and other evergreens. The summer is too sultry to admit of frequent exposure in the open air, and the autumn generally brings with it, in the country parts, fever and ague, and in the towns, the *typhus icterodes* or yellow fever.

In several of the plantations that we passed, the negroes were busily employed in hoeing and planting. Men and women, boys and girls, were alike engaged; and each had a separate piece of ground marked out for their day's work. When their task is finished, some planters allow their slaves to work for themselves, on small gardens which are usually allotted to them. Where they have the good fortune to fall into the hands of a liberal-minded man, their situation is far from irksome, and they frequently know nothing of slavery but the name. In such cases, negroes have been known to save up enough from the pro-

duce of their little gardens and live stock, to purchase their freedom, which is generally equivalent to five or six hundred dollars.

After passing two or three places, where the trees and fences were on fire close to the road, we arrived at the small tavern or ferry-house, on the border of Ashley river, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Though I could not obtain a morsel of bread when I passed that way the week before, yet the landlord now contrived to give us an excellent dinner and a good bottle of London porter. Travellers going to Charleston in the stage always stop at this house to dine; but those going to Savannah dine at Jacksonborough, where the charges are higher and the dinner worse.

Though we had only ten miles further to go, yet, after passing Ashley ferry, the road was so bad that we did not reach Charleston till near seven o'clock in the evening. The sandy soil, of which the road is composed, is continually ploughed up, and thrown into deep furrows, by the narrow wheels of the country waggons, which are daily passing to and from the city. The waggons carry a load of from two to three tons, and are drawn by four or six horses. In wet weather the clayey roads are cut into deep ruts, and are sometimes rendered impassable by these narrow-wheeled machines, fifteen or twenty of which are often to be seen following each other in the

same track. Most of the produce of the upper and interior parts of the State are brought to Charleston by these waggons.

The waggoners are familiarly called *crackers* (from the smacking of their whip, I suppose). They are said to be often very rude and insolent to strangers, and people of the towns, whom they meet on the road, particularly if they happen to be genteel persons. I have heard of several ludicrous, and some shameful tricks, which these gentry of the *whip* have been guilty of. There are instances of their having robbed people; but in general they confine themselves to a few mad pranks, which they call *jokes*. In almost every part of the United States, there seems to be an invincible antipathy between the towns' people and these waggoners, who take every opportunity they can to give each other a thrashing. The waggoner constantly rides on one of the shaft horses, and with a long whip guides the leaders. Their long legs, lank figures, and meagre countenances, have sometimes a curious appearance when thus mounted; especially if a string of them happen to pass along the road.

The roads of South Carolina will admit of carriages and waggons as far as the mountains; and cross roads, to and from each court-house, are made throughout the State. In the upper country, the water courses are mostly fordable; and

where they are not, they are as in other parts of the State, crossed by bridges or ferry-boats. The roads are made and kept in repair under the direction of commissioners; in the lower country by negroes, and in the middle and upper country by a suitable number of residents in the county or parish through which they lead; otherwise there is little or no expense attending them. At this time a carriage and four may be driven from any part of the State to the other; from the sea shore to the mountains, without any other difficulty than such as naturally arises in long journeys, and the state of the roads in bad weather. Some few toll-bridges are erected, but the spirit of the people is not yet favourable to these taxes on travelling.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Leave Charleston—Embark for New York in the Calliope Packet—Gale of Wind—Drunken Pilot—Anecdote of a Negro Pilot—Arrival at New York—Melancholy Effects of the Embargo—Leave New York in the Stage for Boston—Pass through Haerlem—Newhaven—General Bradley—The Two Crowninshields—Virginian Drams—Virginian Fighting—Gouging, Kicking, and Biting—Fight between a German Gentleman and a Carolinian, at Monte Video—Arrive at Hartford—Manners of the People of Connecticut—Productions—General Face of the Country—Stafford Springs—Handsome Houses and Churches—Arrive at Worcester—Crim. Con.—Universalists—Marlborough—Dispute about building a Church—Congregationalists—An American Election—Characters of the New Englanders—Prejudices of former Travellers—Lower Orders—The "French Mounseer"—Lower Orders of the English—Dress and Manners of the New England Females.

After my return to Charleston, I continued about a fortnight in that city, during which I had partly formed a resolution to proceed to New York by land, but in consequence of letters which

I received, hastening my return to Canada, I gave up the idea, and determined to take a passage in the packet for New York, as the most expeditious mode of conveyance. I was thus deprived of the pleasure of seeing the cities of Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, a circumstance which for several reasons I much regretted.

On the morning of the 5th of April, I embarked once more on board the Calliope packet, Capt. Records, and left the harbour of Charleston, with a fine breeze from the southward. We had two gentlemen and three ladies passengers, all of whom were strangers to me. The old Irish razor-grinder, who was passenger with us before, was also on board, on his return to New York, having reaped a very plentiful harvest in Charleston. I had seen him several times in the street, grinding knives and razors, surrounded by a crowd of gaping boys and negroes, who had never seen the like before.

The day after our departure we entered the gulf stream; this increased the rapidity of our way at least three knots, and in less than four days sail we were in the latitude of New York. But a gale of wind coming on from the south-west, we were driven off the coast all night. The two following days were extremely foggy, and the wind unfavourable; but the next morning, the 13th of April, the weather clearing up, we came

in sight of the Neversink Hills, and in the course of the afternoon took a pilot on board. The fellow was extremely drunk, and seemed little capable of affording us any assistance. Yet he took charge of the vessel with much confidence, and gave his orders correctly; not forgetting also to ask the captain for beef, rum, and candles, the moment he put his foot upon deck. These were accordingly handed into the pilot boat, as is the custom on those occasions; and I doubt much if he would have taken charge of the vessel had his demand been refused. The black pilots in the West Indies are also very troublesome when they come on board, for beef and grog, which it is usually the custom to give them. One day a West Indiaman going into Port Royal, Jamaica, took a black pilot on board. "Give me some beef, massa, me can no take ship safe, widout grog and beef."—"D——n you, mind the ship, you black rascal," said the captain, "and when she is safe you shall have what you want." Blackey and his men were, however, very sulky; one of them sounding with the lead, the captain asked, "What water have you got?" "What water, massa? why, *what water* do you tink we have got?" "D——n you," says the captain, "I say what water have you?" "Why, *salt water*, massa, to be sure." "You black scoundrel," says the captain in a rage, "tell me, again, I say, *how much*

water have you got?" Lord, massa, how can me tell, me have no *pot* to measure it wid!"

I found vegetation at New York a full month behind that of South Carolina. The poplars, and many other trees were not yet in leaf, while at Charleston most of the trees were in blossom, and peas, asparagus, and other vegetables, had been in the markets upwards of three weeks. But to the northward, winter still seemed to linger in the gardens, the fields, and the forests, and the productions of nature were yet in the bud.

Every thing wore a dismal aspect at New York. The embargo had now continued upwards of three months, and the salutary check which Congress imagined it would have upon the conduct of the belligerent powers was extremely doubtful, while the ruination of the commerce of the United States appeared certain, if such a destructive measure was persisted in. Already had 120 failures taken place among the merchants and traders, to the amount of more than 5,000,000 dollars; and there were above 500 vessels in the harbour, which were lying up useless, and rotting for want of employment. Thousands of sailors were either destitute of bread, wandering about the country, or had entered into the British service. The merchants had shut up their counting-houses, and discharged their clerks, and the farmers refrained from cultivating their land; for if they brought

their produce to market, they either could not sell at all, or were obliged to dispose of it for only a fourth of its value. In short, go where I would, the people were full of complaints; those only excepted who, by an unaccountable fatality, acquiesced in the measures of government, to the destruction of their own property, because it injured their political opponents, and gratified their malice against the English nation.

Being anxious to return to Canada, I did not feel an inclination to make any stay at New York, particularly as there was little else to see but *gloomy looks and long faces.* Having therefore rested myself five or six days, to recover from the effects of the tossing and tumbling which I had sustained during the passage, I bade adieu to that elegant city, which I regretted to leave in such a melancholy state of dejection.

I had engaged a place in Courtland-street, in the mail stage for Boston, and on Wednesday the 20th of April I took my departure about eight in the morning. We proceeded through Chatham-street, and along the Bowery-road. This avenue is remarkable for its width, and the handsome appearance of its buildings. About two miles from the city all the houses are built in an elegant and tasteful manner of wood, painted white, and ornamented with green Venetian shades, neat railings, and small gardens. They stand apart

from each other, and serve as summer retreats for the gentry and merchants of the city, particularly during the sickly season. They are built on a rising ground along the road, and command an extensive and beautiful view of the surrounding country.

Passed through Haerlem village, and across the river of the same name, which separates the island of Manhattan or New York from the continent. A good toll-bridge is erected over the river. In the vicinity of this place is the race-ground, where jockies and horse-dealers never fail to take in the flats whenever the races are held. We arrived at Stamford to dinner about two o'clock, having passed through the several villages of Kingsbury, East Chester, New Rochelle, Maronick, Rye, and Greenwich, which last place is situated in the State of Connecticut. The houses were mostly new, all neatly built of wood or brick, well painted, and in excellent order. The country along this road is composed of alternate hills and dales. The soil in many places is extremely rocky and sterile, and in other parts rich and fruitful. A succession of picturesque views delight the eye, particularly to the right. On that side the shores of the continent and Long Island, the channel, and small islands between; with several handsome streams meandering through verdant meadows and well cultivated grounds,

afforded a rich variety of landscapes from every hill we rode over.

Having dined, we left Stamford, and proceeded on our journey through Norwalk, Greenfarms, Fairfield, and Stratford; crossed the ferry at the latter place; passed through Milford, and arrived at Newhaven about midnight. Newhaven is a handsome town of moderate size, and the capital of the county which bears the same name. It has a harbour for small coasting vessels, formed by an arm of the sea, between the main land and Long Island. The situation is healthy and pleasing; the streets are intersected at right angles, and the houses are built at considerable distances from each other; sufficient in many places to admit of several large corn-fields, which thus appear in the middle of the town.

The next morning I left Newhaven in the stage, in company with five other passengers. Two of them were Messrs. Crowninshields of Salem, in Massachussetts, whose brother, a member of the House of Representatives, died at Washington, where they had been to attend him during his illness. They were merchants of considerable property, and concerned chiefly in the East India trade. One of the other passengers was General Bradley, a senator in Congress for the state of Vermont. He had accompanied the Crowninshields

from Washington, in consequence of Congress having adjourned for a few weeks.

These three gentlemen were all violent anti-federalists, or rather democrats, as they are termed by the opposite party. General Bradley had distinguished himself by having summoned a caucus of the members of Congress at Washington, in order to recommend Mr. Madison to the people as President at the ensuing election to succeed Mr. Jefferson. This proceeding was considered to be so unconstitutional that even several of his own party condemned it, and refused to attend. They said that it was an endeavour to bias the sentiments of the people in their choice of a ruler, a measure highly subversive of the freedom of election. From this circumstance the General has ever since been nicknamed "*President-making Bradley.*" Whatever violence this gentleman might have exhibited in his senatorial capacity, or political sentiments, I must do him the justice to say that he always abstained from political conversation, though often introduced by the other passengers; and when they sometimes began to be warm with each other, he would beg them to discuss some more agreeable topic, or perhaps interrupt them with a laughable anecdote. Indeed I found the General to be a most agreeable well-informed man, possessed of considerable humour, with

the manners and politeness of a well-educated gentleman; and I only regretted that we had not the pleasure of his company further than Hartford.

The two Crowninshields were sensible men, but possessed all the political violence of the General, with very little of his forbearance and good humour. They entered upon and often introduced political subjects with an acrimony that could not be agreeable in a promiscuous company, where there were others of totally opposite principles and opinions. The General, however, contrived to keep us all in good humour; diverting our attention from the *virtues* of Mr. Jefferson, the *outrages* of the English and French nations, to a facetious story or pleasant anecdote. Speaking of the Virginians, he gave us the following specimen of their *dram drinking*.

A gum-tickler is a gill of spirits, generally rum, taken fasting.

A phlegm-cutter is a double dose just before breakfast.

An antifogmatic is a similar dram before dinner.

A gall-breaker is about half a pint of ardent spirits.

When they inquire how such-a-one does, the answer is, "Oh, he is only drinking *gum-ticklers!*" If he is drinking *phlegm-cutters*, or *antifogmatics*, the case is not so good, and he is soon expected to get to *gall-breakers;* but if he is drinking the

latter, they consider him as a lost sheep,—say it is all over with him,—and pity his desperate case. Indeed, a man seldom lives above six months after he has commenced the *gall-breaking* dram! Rum, brandy, or gin *sling*, is a common beverage for travellers throughout the States; and the stage-coachmen, in the course of a journey, take "*a special good quantity of it.*" Sometimes it consists only of the liquor and water, sweetened with sugar, and drank cold; but in general it is made of milk, with ginger or nutmeg grated into it.

The General informed me, that the mode of fighting in Virginia and the other southern states, is really of that description mentioned by preceding travellers, the truth of which many persons have doubted, and some even contradicted. *Gouging*, *kicking*, and *biting*, are allowed in most of their battles; and the combatants pride themselves upon the dexterity with which they can pluck out *an eye, bite off a nose,* or *break a jaw with a kick of their foot.* Gouging is performed by twisting the fore finger in a lock of hair near the temple, and turning the eye out of the socket with the thumb nail, which is suffered to grow long for that purpose.

While at New York, I was acquainted with a German gentleman, who had arrived there from the Rio de la Plata, after the loss of that country by General Whitelocke. This gentleman told me

that during his residence at Monte Video he had lived on the most friendly terms with a young gentleman, a native of North Carolina; but happening one day to quarrel concerning a Spanish lady, who had fascinated them both, they soon proceeded from words to blows; and, while the German was fighting fairly with his fists, his antagonist suddenly grappled with him, twisted his finger in a side-lock of hair, and was on the point of turning the eye out of the socket, when fortunately the German gave him a terrible blow just under the jaw; this obliged the Carolinian to let go his hold, but not till he had left a severe cut upon the other's eye-lid by the sharpness of his thumb-nail. He showed me the scar, which he would no doubt carry with him to his grave. The German gentleman declared that he was so shocked at the unfair and brutal attempt of the American to deprive him of his eye, or perhaps both, that though the latter wished to be friendly with him again, yet he never afterwards could see him but with disgust.

We arrived at Hartford about two o'clock, and stopped there to dine. The country through which we had passed this morning was extremely beautiful: we travelled, for the most part, over a succession of lofty hills, commanding extensive views across the country. In the midst of some beautiful plains and valleys appeared the Con-

necticut river, with its fruitful shores covered with innumerable habitations, surrounded by well cultivated grounds, pastures, and meadow lands, orchards, and gardens; all of which evinced the steady and industrious character of the inhabitants. Every mile we advanced afforded us some new objects for admiration; whether they consisted of lofty mountains, fruitful valleys, verdant lawns, meandering streams, rich farms, or populous towns; for they were more or less the materials which composed the scenery along the road to Hartford, and presented a rapid succession of rich and beautiful landscapes. I regretted only that spring had not yet removed the gloomy mantle of winter, and presented to our view the graceful charms and hidden beauties of nature.

Our stay at Hartford was too short to admit of my collecting much information concerning the town. It appeared to be composed of regular streets, and well built houses of red brick. Order, neatness, and cleanliness seemed to be a predominant feature in the character of its inhabitants; as was the case in all the towns and villages of this state through which I had passed. It is built on the banks of the Connecticut river, and surrounded by rich pasture and meadow-ground, well cultivated corn-fields, and neat dwelling-houses. It is the capital of the state of Connecticut, though the meetings of the legislature are divided between

this town and Newhaven. Hartford contains a state-house, a bank, museum, some neat churches and meetings, and about 10,000 inhabitants. We left the town about three o'clock, and parted reluctantly with General Bradley; who had pleased us by his gentlemanly manners, and entertained us with his facetious and agreeable humour.

Our stage and four horses embarked on board the flat-bottomed ferry-boat; and Charon, not content with us, took in another stage and four, in spite of our remonstrances to the contrary, which rendered our passage across the Connecticut river extremely dangerous. The waters had risen several feet above their usual level, occasioned by the melting of the snow and ice in the upper parts of the country; and had inundated the opposite side of the river, above a mile from the shore. All the houses near the river were surrounded, and the farms laid under water. Our ferry-boat had therefore to pass over fences and hedges, and between trees and houses, for more than a mile after we had crossed the river. It was with difficulty the driver could keep his horses quiet; and one plunge would have upset the boat, and most probably drowned us all.

For several miles we passed through a plain level country, well cultivated, and apparently rich and fertile. The people of Connecticut are distinguished by their industry, sobriety, and œconomy;

strict piety and devotion. Travelling on Sundays is not permitted in their state, though strangers often contrive to evade the laws. Elders go about and forbid inn-keepers at their peril to suffer any person to travel; but the latter generally keep a few horses ready saddled in the stables; and if a traveller arrives on a Sunday, he helps himself to one of the horses, and goes off by some bye-road. This manœuvre of the inn-keepers resembles that of the Quakers in paying taxes; "Friend, thee may *take*, but I cannot *give* to thee."

The inhabitants are almost entirely of English descent; there being neither French, Dutch, Germans, nor other foreigners among them; and very few even of the Irish and Scotch. The rough, frank hospitality of the English farmer is here generally met with; and though there are not many who are remarkable for *opulence*, yet the number is still less of those who are remarkable for *indigence*. The generality of the people live in easy independent circumstances; and upon that footing of equality which is best calculated to promote virtue and happiness among society. The population of the state is about 300,000, the majority of whom are Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, and Independants. The people are said to be distinguished for their general information and learning; and the country

abounds with colleges, grammar schools, and village seminaries. The select men (magistrates) are empowered to levy a fine of three dollars upon every person who neglects to send his children to school.

The general face of the country consists of mountains, hills, plains, and valleys; well watered by the Connecticut river, and a variety of smaller streams. The climate is healthy, though liable to the extremes of heat and cold. The principal productions are, wheat, rye, buckwheat, Indian corn, oats, barley, flax, hemp, and vegetables of all kinds. Great quantities of horned cattle, horses, sheep, swine, and poultry, are also raised in this State, of a very excellent kind. Cyder is the favourite beverage of the people; and large orchards crowded with an immense variety of fruit-trees are attached to every farm in the State.

About seven o'clock in the evening we arrived at Stafford, a small village in the State of Massachussetts. Since leaving Hartford we had proceeded for the most part through new turnpike roads, where the settlements are yet in their infancy. Within a mile of Stafford we passed a mineral spring of some celebrity, to which the fashionables of Massachussetts resort every summer to drink the water. It is only within these few years that the spring was discovered; and a person has built on speculation a large house in its vi-

cinity, where he accommodates the gentry at ten or twelve dollars per week. The situation is wild and solitary, and apparently possesses but few attractions for valetudinarians; yet I am told that a great many resort there every year, some for the benefit of their *health*, but more because it is the *fashion*.

The next morning we left Stafford, and proceeded through some new turnpike roads, along which the country is settling fast. In many parts the soil is rocky, and full of loose stones; several cleared spots of this description, I was informed, sold for upwards of ten dollars per acre. This part of the country is mountainous, but frequently interspersed with extensive plains and meadows. Oxen are much used for field labour in the New England States, because cheaper than horses, as they are afterwards fattened for market; and great numbers are exported to the southern States, to the West India Islands, Newfoundland, &c. I saw above twelve yoke of oxen dragging a sort of scoop along the road to level the ruts; behind the scoop large boughs and branches of trees were fastened, for the purpose of smoothing the gravel.

We stopped to dine at Brookfield, a very pretty village, adorned with a neat church and some handsome dwelling-houses. Throughout the States of Connecticut, Massachussetts, and New York, a remarkable neat and indeed elegant style of archi-

tecture and decoration seems to pervade all the buildings in the towns and villages; and I understand is more or less prevalent in the rest of the northern and middle States. The houses in the small towns and villages are mostly built of wood, generally one or two stories above the ground floor; the sides are neatly clapboarded and painted white. The sloping roofs are covered with shingles, and painted of a slate colour; and with sash windows, green venetian shades outside, neat white railings, and steps, have a pretty effect. Sometimes the entrance is ornamented with a portico. The churches, or, as they are oftener termed, meetings, are constructed of similar materials; painted white, and frequently decorated like the houses, with sash windows and green venetian shades. The building is also surmounted by a handsome spire or steeple with one or two bells. A small town composed of these neat and ornamental edifices, and situated in the neighbourhood of well-cultivated farms, large fields, orchards and gardens, produces a most agreeable effect, and gives the traveller a high opinion of the prosperity of the country, and of the wealth and happiness of its inhabitants. Indeed those parts of the northern and middle States through which I travelled have the appearance of old, well-settled countries. The towns and villages are populous; provisions are cheap and abundant; the farms appear in ex-

cellent order; and the inhabitants sober, industrious, religious, and happy.

At four o'clock we arrived at Worcester. This town is handsome and well built, and consists of one long street of houses. It is the capital of the county of the same name, and contains several respectable stores, shops, inns, and taverns; two or three places of worship, and a handsome new court-house. As we were to remain here this night, I took the opportunity of walking through the town. The street is of considerable breadth, unpaved; but has excellent foot-paths on each side. The houses are of brick or wood, and built in that neat and tasteful manner just described. Perceiving the court-house to be crowded with people, I went up stairs, and found they were trying a man, at the suit of the State of Massachussetts, for crim. con. It appeared that the prisoner had been found in company with a blacksmith's wife, and the young men of the neighbourhood had carried them both in procession through the town, on the back of a raw-boned Rosinante; the woman being tied on before astride the horse, and he fastened behind with his back to her. The wags, however, to the number of fifty, had suffered for their frolic, in taking the law into their own hands, and had been fined the day before, some in three dollars, others in ten dollars, according to their circumstances; and this day the

prisoner stood trial for his offence at the suit of the State. The trial was not finished when I left the court-house; but it was supposed that he would be fined and imprisoned. He was a farmer, had a large family, and before this circumstance bore a good character. Some curious remarks were made upon his religion, which was that of an Universalist; and the judge observed, that it was an excellent faith for such men as the prisoner, and extremely accommodating; for they believed that all men would be saved, whatever had been their crimes and offences in this world. Great stress was also laid upon what place of worship he went to; for it seems that some of the meetings in America have no better reputation than houses of ill-fame. Witness the *camp meetings*, which are attended by all the refuse of the towns, by *bawds*, *pimps*, and *prostitutes*, who all swell the number of *converted sinners* in that country.

The Universalists in America profess very accommodating tenets; tenets which, I cannot help thinking, are very dangerous to the peace and happiness of society. They conceive that every thing is to be accomplished by *faith alone*. According to the information I received from one or two of this persuasion, they do not believe in future rewards and punishments, but are of opinion that all men will go to heaven, however wicked or

diabolical their acts may have been upon earth. They say that Christ died to save the *sinful*, and not the *righteous*; and it is sufficient that they *believe it*, to be saved. If they commit any sins, they think they receive sufficient punishment if their consciences should be apt to reproach them; not reflecting that if they are tormented in their conscience, it is from the expectation of a *future punishment*, and of course militates against their own doctrine. Yet they persist in the belief that *good works* are *not* necessary to salvation. If a man, say they, commits murder, and is hung for it, that is a sufficient atonement for his offence; and so with respect to other crimes and punishments in this world.

The following morning, Saturday, 23d April, we left Worcester, and proceeded through a beautiful well-settled country to the town of Marlborough, where we changed horses. The houses are built in a straggling manner, and extend the town upwards of a mile and a half. It is remarkable for its two handsome new churches, though one is quite sufficient for the present population of the town. It happened, however, that a dispute arose as to the spot upon which a new church should be built. One part of the inhabitants wished it to be built at their end of the town, and the other party at the opposite. After much altercation, dispute, and argumentation, in which

there were more speakers than hearers, each party resolved to build a church for itself. Their determination was immediately put in execution; and the two rival churches arose within half a mile of each other. Both are elegantly neat, but one is rather handsomer than the other, and is superior to any country church that I have seen in the States. This one cost nearly double the expense of the other, being built on the surface of a rock, great part of which was obliged to be cut away, to level it for a foundation to the building. It was respecting this rock that the opposition first arose; the other end of the town opposing the building a church upon it as creating *unnecessary expense*, and that a more convenient and cheap situation might be found. The consequence was, that the town was put to the expense of *two* churches instead of *one*.

The inhabitants of Marlborough are nearly all Congregationalists. This denomination of Christians practises a form of worship that easily reconciles the Presbyterian and Episcopalian to meet in one church. It is in some sort a relaxed presbyterian service. They have no written form of prayer, the service consisting of chapters of scripture, extemporary prayers, and a sermon, with psalms or hymns at intervals. The minister frequently reads his discourse, as in the episcopalian churches; and organs are often put up in the

meeting-house. The prayers of those congregational ministers whom I have heard, have been of that general and tolerant nature which embraces all sects and denominations of Christians, supplicating for the safety and welfare of all men, without respect of persons. Their discourses were generally of an evangelical cast, but devoid of all absurd tenets, dogmas, and denunciations. *Faith* was earnestly recommended, but the necessity of *good works* was strenuously enforced. It is possible that this denomination of Christians has arisen from the want of a sufficient number of places of worship in the new settlements, which obliged many of the inhabitants, though professing various religious tenets, to assemble together in one meeting, and to form their prayers and discourses for the general welfare of the whole congregation, without touching upon the peculiarities of either party. In several towns and villages through which I passed, even Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists, assembled together in one meeting; but sometimes it was on condition that their respective preachers should perform service alternately.

The Americans in the country parts call their places of worship *meeting-houses*, although they are built with steeples, in the manner of our churches. In the cities, those appropriated to the episcopal form of worship are always called

churches. The old meeting-house of Marlborough is still made use of, so that the town has now three places of worship for congregationalists. The termination of their dispute, by building two instead of one, shows that they are not parsimonious in religious matters. It is surprising they did not put the subject to the vote; but if the voting had been carried on, as it was once in New Jersey upon a similar dispute respecting the building of a new court-house, they would probably have had no church erected at all.

The legislature of New Jersey lately passed an act, permitting the inhabitants of Essex county to decide in the manner of an election where a new court-house should be erected. The Newarkites wished to have the election in their town. The Elizabethites were equally anxious to have it in theirs. But the latter, finding that it could not be accomplished in their favour, fixed on the geographical centre of the county. This election was to be general, and all the polls were to open and close at one time throughout the county. Certain arrangements were made that *cheating* should not extend beyond certain limits. Accordingly the polls opened, and at it they went heart and hand, with exertions unexampled. Both parties were sanguine, both calculated on the superior exertions of their riders. Men, women, and children,

all voted, old and young. Those who could not walk were carried, and those who were carried generally voted *only once*. Horsemen and foot-men; horses, carriages, waggons, carts, and wheel-barrows, all were employed, all running helter skelter, pell mell. The wind blew, the dust flew, the whiskey flowed, and all was confusion. At length night came, and the tumult subsided. The ballots were canvassed, and the result was, that the Newarkites had gained the election by a great majority; how great, is not now recollected, but some say it exceeded the number of legal voters in the county. The *Elizabethites* charged the *Newarkites* with having *cheated* beyond the contract. This was rebutted by the *Newarkites*, who charged their opponents with having begun first; and that the scandal was greatly magnified by the attempt being made at a distant and obscure poll, under the idea that it would not be detected; but that *they* being on the alert, and *knowing how such things were done*, had kept so good a look-out as to turn it to their own advantage. The conclusion was, that the losers petitioned the legislature to set it aside, on account of its being *corrupt*. A counter-petition set forth that both parties had done their *best*. The legislature annulled the election, and determined to interfere no further. In New Jersey it has been the practice for females

to vote at elections; and their dress favouring disguise, it is said that some have repeated the vote without detection.

From Marlborough we proceeded on our journey through several neat towns and villages, and a well-settled, rich, and fertile country. We were now within a few miles of Boston, and every thing around us appeared indicative of our approach to that rich commercial metropolis. We had an agreeable ride through Cambridge, a kind of suburb to Boston, to which it is connected by a very long bridge across the river Charles. This town contains about 3000 inhabitants, several handsome seats, orchards, gardens, and pleasure-grounds; three or four places of worship, a court-house, and the celebrated university of Harvard, which is reckoned the best institution of the kind in the United States. This college contains a library of nearly 20,000 volumes, a good philosophical apparatus, and a respectable museum. The students amount to about 250, and professors for every branch of the sciences are engaged to complete their education. The situation of Cambridge is extremely well adapted to such an institution. It is placed at a sufficient distance from Boston to prevent the students from having their morals corrupted by the vices of a populous city. It also contributes to their health, and the prosecution of their studies, by a clear, wholesome atmosphere,

and calm retreat from the noise and bustle of a commercial town.

Through the whole of this journey of 240 miles from New York to Boston, I had passed over a most beautiful tract of country, which from the manners of its inhabitants, the excellent order and condition of its towns, villages, and buildings, its farms, orchards, gardens, pasture and meadow lands, together with the face of the country, undulated with mountains, hills, plains, and valleys, watered by a number of rivers, small lakes, and streams, afforded a variety of the most beautiful landscapes, and strongly reminded me of English scenery.

Much has been said by former travellers of the familiarity and rudeness of the American people. I will not attempt to contradict their assertions; but for myself, I must declare, in justice to the American character, that I experienced the utmost civility and even politeness, from the inhabitants, in every part of the country through which I travelled. The coachmen were civil, and the tavern-keepers attentive; and wherever I had occasion to mix with the country people, I never met with the least rudeness or shadow of impertinence on any occasion; on the contrary, they were civil and obliging. The children would take off their hats, bow, or curtsey, as we passed along the road; and the men would frequently nod

their heads, which, though it carried with it the appearance of familiarity, and certainly was not so graceful as the salutation of the French Canadians, yet I firmly believe it sprang entirely from an honest, well-meaning civility. It must be confessed, that I saw but little of the character of the country people to the southward; and nothing of it in the back country, where the civilization of the New England States is said to be little known. But I only pretend to speak of what I have myself witnessed; and even if I had met with rudeness from *individuals*, or been cheated by a *sharper*, I should not be inclined to charge *the whole American people* with insolence and brutality, with roguery and imposition. But the Americans are a people like ourselves, who, conscious of the real liberty which they enjoy, boast of it as their greatest blessing. In many men, and particularly the lower classes, this freedom, even in our own country, sometimes degenerates into rude familiarity; but that philosopher must indeed be squeamish, who will not compound with a little rudeness to himself, for the solid acquisition of much substantial comfort and happiness to myriads of his fellow men.

Those travellers who visited the United States soon after the Americans had obtained their independence, were swayed by their prejudices for or against that country. The French were ena-

moured with their freedom of sentiment and manners, so different to the slavish fear under which they themselves lived in France; and were also enraptured with the polite attentions shown them every where they went, on account of the assistance their nation had rendered to the States. This naturally biassed them in favour of the American people, and induced them to write such flattering accounts of the country and its inhabitants. The English travellers, on the contrary, could see nothing but rude familiarity and brutal behaviour in the conduct of the people, and no doubt they had some foundation for their assertions: it was natural that the Americans should be elated with the victory they had obtained over their former masters; and that the lower orders should avail themselves of every opportunity to boast of their success in the presence of an Englishman. Many of the British subjects also left their own country under delusive prospects to settle in America; and, when they met with reverses, were too apt to return home full of spleen and inveteracy against the people and the country. If they had been the dupes of a few knaves, the American people were branded as *rogues;* and the rudeness, imperfections, and chicanery of *individuals* were set down to the account of the *whole nation.* Sometimes they published their complaints to the world, and these becoming current, have tended

to increase that animosity and disgust which the American revolution had engendered, and which were already too prevalent in England.

Since then a long peace has calmed the minds of the people, and agriculture, commerce, and the arts, have introduced a degree of civilization, which has in some measure recalled that politeness and urbanity of manners which the violence of the revolutionary war had almost banished from the country. Allowances, however, ought to be made for a new country, where the people are thinly scattered over an immense surface of the earth. They have few opportunities of enjoying that social and friendly intercourse which soften and polish the manners of a nation: where they do in some degree possess those advantages, as in the New England States, we find that they more nearly assimilate with ourselves. Allowance ought also to be made for the peculiar character of their constitution, which allows them to riot in freedom of sentiment and almost licentiousness of debate. The *scurrility of the press* is deplored even by themselves; and is unfortunately too much in the hands of *European traitors*, who have fled to America to escape the punishment due to their crimes. On political subjects the Americans are headstrong and violent: like us, they are noisy and blustering in their complaints against other nations. Among themselves, they are jealous of

all encroachments on their liberties, and tenacious of their political opinions even to a fault: but view them in private life; in their hours of relaxation, in the circle of friendship, and it will be found that they do not merit the opprobrium that has been cast upon their character. When politics were not the subject of conversation, I could discern no distinction between a federalist or a democrat: but talk of the conduct of a Jefferson or Adams; of the English or French nations, and open war would immediately commence, not only between rival politicians, but between friends and acquaintances. Yet, why should *we* blame their conduct in this respect? we, who are for ever at issue respecting the merits of the *ministry* and *the opposition!*—It is true, that our political sentiments are expressed in the public papers with *less* of that coarse vulgarity which characterizes the American prints; but our editors frequently belabour each other with a quantum sufficit of *gentlemanly abuse.*

As to the lower order of the Americans, or labouring part of the community, much of their rudeness and coarse behaviour has worn off; and there are few now who are not as attentive and civil as those of Europe. But why should Englishmen be such sticklers for politeness and urbanity of manners in America, when the lower orders of their own country have only within these few

years emerged from a rude and barbarous conduct to foreigners that was disgraceful to the nation ?— Indeed, complaints on that head come with as ill grace from us as they do from Frenchmen who have been fraternizing with the dregs of the populace during the revolution. It is scarcely thirty years ago that a foreigner could not walk along the streets of London without being molested by the populace, who would hoot at and ridicule him for his dress, and sometimes even add violence to their taunts and menaces. An instance of this kind happened to a relation of mine, who during the American war was taken prisoner by the French in India and carried into the Mauritius, where he was confined upwards of four years. Having at length obtained permission to return to England on his parole, he arrived in London in the complete costume of a Frenchman, which in those days was particularly remarkable. His long queue reached half way down his legs; his hair, powdered and frizzled, was covered by a small cocked hat. He wore a curious cut coat with large broad stripes, and plated buttons nearly the size of a crown-piece: with breeches, stockings, shoes, and buckles of singular fashion. In this dress he was obliged, after landing from the vessel in the river, to walk through Thames-street, where he was immediately followed by a posse of carmen and porters shouting and

hooting at the "*French mounseer*," as they called him. For some time he only turned round occasionally, and answered their abuse in the *French* language; but this caused them to be more insolent, and one of them at length went up and jostled him off the curb-stone, and was preparing to use further violence, when my relation seeing a large mob collecting round him, thought it was a good opportunity to punish the insolence of the brute. He accordingly appealed to the by-standers in *English*, stating that he was no *Frenchman*, but a countryman of theirs, and had had the misfortune to be taken by the French, and confined four years in prison, from which he was just released: that he had not yet been able to procure an English dress, as he had but a few minutes before landed from the vessel; and asked them whether it was generous to ill-treat their countryman in distress? The mob, with all that vacillation for which they are remarkable, no sooner found that he was an "*Englishman*," than they applauded his speech, and immediately proceeded to take summary vengeance upon the insolent carman. They accordingly dragged him to a neighbouring pump; and, in their zeal for administering justice, gave him a complete ducking, though but the moment before they had joined in the general shout against the "*French mounseer*."—"*Such is the lightness of your common men*."—In those days it will there-

fore appear that foreigners had greater reason to complain of the brutal behaviour of the lower order of the English than ever we have had to complain of the Americans; and the knowledge of this circumstance might at least make us look with a more favourable eye upon the faults of other nations.

The females of the New England states are conspicuous for their domestic virtues. Every thing in their houses has an air of cleanliness, order, and œconomy; this displays the female character to the greatest advantage. The young women are really handsome. They have almost all fair complexions, often tinged with the rosy bloom of health. They have generally good, and sometimes excellent teeth. Nor did I see more instances to the contrary among the *young* women of America, than are to be met with in England. Their light hair is tastefully turned up behind, in the modern style, and fastened with a comb. Their dress is neat, simple, and genteel; usually consisting of a printed cotton jacket, with long sleeves, a petticoat of the same, with a coloured cotton apron, or pincloth without sleeves, tied tight, and covering the lower part of the bosom. This seemed to be the prevailing dress in the country places. Their manners are easy, affable, and polite, and free from all uncouth rusticity: indeed, they appear to be as polished and well

bred as the ladies in the cities, although they may not possess their highly finished education. Yet in the well settled parts of New England the children do not want for plain and useful instruction; and the girls, especially, are early initiated in the principles of domestic order and œconomy. At the taverns and farm-houses, where we rested on the road, we found the people extremely civil and attentive. We were treated with as much respect as if we had been at our own houses; and the landlord, his wife and daughters, waited on us in the most obliging manner. I do not mention this as a solitary instance, it was general at every house where we stopped; neither have I drawn my conclusions merely from the reception I met with at taverns and other places of public resort, but from my observations upon the people *in general*, with whom I had frequent opportunities of mixing, whether they belonged to the highest or the lowest orders of the community. I believe it is generally allowed, that for a traveller who wishes to make himself master of the real character and disposition of a people, it is not sufficient that he associates only with the *grandees* of a nation; he must mix with the *plebeians*, otherwise he acquires but false ideas of the country and its inhabitants. "The great mass of nations," says Dr. Johnson, "are neither *rich* nor *gay*. They whose aggregate constitutes the people, are found in the *streets* and

the *villages*, in the *shops* and *farms;* and from *them*, collectively considered, must the measure of general prosperity be taken." From these I have judged of the *real character* of the Americans; and I found it as difficult to discover a single particle of *rudeness* in the behaviour of the men, as it was to discover an *ugly face* or *bad teeth* among the young women.

CHAPTER XL.

Arrival at Boston—Agreeable Situation—Beacon Hill—The Park—East Boston—Longwharf—Market Places — New Hotel — Population of Boston—Religion—Manners of the first Settlers —Rigidity of Character—Governor Hancock—His Partiality to Negroes and Animosity to Theatres satirized by the Echo—Visit to the Theatre and the Circus—Captain Girod—Colonel Moulin—Captain de Frotte—Their extraordinary Escape from Fort Joux in Franche Comté — Literature — Newspapers — Military Funeral—Manufactures—Contrast between the northern Merchant and the southern Planter—Visit to Bunker's Hill—Plymouth.

We entered Boston about two o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, 23d April. The stage stopped at Lamphear's hotel in Hanover-street, where Captain Crowninshield, his brother, and I alighted. As I intended to stay but a few days in Boston, I did not think it worth while to go to a private boarding-house, and therefore took up my residence at this hotel, which the Crownin-

shields recommended to me as the best house in the town.

Early hours, I perceived, were prevalent among people of business in Boston; for we had scarcely left the stage when we sat down to dinner with upwards of 30 gentlemen. Here, as at other hotels in the States, the boarders in the house and single gentlemen in the neighbourhood take their meals at one public table at a certain hour. Our dinner consisted of almost every thing the markets produced, and was served up in excellent order: there were also four or five waiters in attendance. After dinner the Crowninshields set out for Salem in one of the stages which runs between that place and Boston, a distance of 17 miles. These gentlemen, though rather dogmatical in their political tenets, were notwithstanding pleasant sensible companions; and after travelling with them during three days, I parted from their company with reluctance. They pressed me very much to pay them a visit at Salem; but I was prevented from accepting their polite invitation by my anxiety to return to Canada as soon as possible.

I remained in Boston only six days; it cannot therefore be expected that I can furnish a very full and detailed account of the town and its inhabitants; but what little time I had was spent in visiting every place worthy of notice, and observing the manners of the people.

Boston is an irregular built town, situated on a peninsula whose surface is broken by small hills; and, except where the isthmus appears in sight, seems completely environed by a beautiful river.

The town of Boston cannot boast of much uniformity and elegance; but with respect to situation it is extremely beautiful, and well deserves the description which Young gives of a populous city.

> "How wanton sits she, amidst Nature's smiles!
> Nor from her highest turret has to view
> But golden landscapes and luxuriant scenes."

From an elevated part of the town the spectator enjoys a succession of the most beautiful views that imagination can conceive. Around him, as far as the eye can reach, are to be seen towns, villages, country seats, rich farms, and pleasure-grounds, seated upon the summits of small hills, hanging on the brows of gentle slopes, or reclining in the laps of spacious valleys, whose shores are watered by a beautiful river, across which are thrown several bridges and causeways. These bridges connect the minor towns of Cambridge, Charlestown, &c. with Boston, and are built of wood, upon a vast number of piers of equal height; their length is from 2000 to 4000 feet. They are painted yellow, kept in excellent order, lighted by lamps, and have a foot path on each side, railed

in from the carriage way. There is a toll-gate on each side, and foot passengers passing out of Boston pay one *cent*, which is something more than a halfpenny.

That portion of the town called West Boston contains most of the dwelling-houses of the gentry and principal merchants. A number of elegant buildings of red brick have within these few years been erected; and wide spacious streets, consisting of handsome private houses of similar construction, are yet forming throughout that end of the town. These streets are mostly in the vicinity of Beacon Hill, a rising ground of considerable elevation, situated behind the new state-house. On this hill a monumental pillar is erected, with a gilt eagle at the top, bearing the arms of the United States. On the pedestal of the column are inscriptions commemorating the most remarkable events of the Revolution. This pillar is a miserable and paltry structure, being built of brick and plastered over with mortar, the greatest part of which has been broken off by the wind and rain, and left the bare bricks exposed to view. It should either be repaired, or one more suitable to such a wealthy and enlightened city erected in its place. A handsome stone or marble column cannot surely be thought too costly to commemorate events which have raised their country to the rank

of an independant nation, and established their liberties upon a sure and permanent basis.

The new state-house is, perhaps, more indebted to its situation for the handsome appearance which it exhibits, than to any merit of the building itself. It is built upon part of the rising ground upon which Beacon Hill is situated, and fronts the park, an extensive common planted with a double row of trees along the borders. The lower part of the building is constructed in a plain and simple style of architecture, with red brick, and surmounted by a large circular dome of the same materials, coloured yellow. The whole has a neat and ornamental appearance; but if stone had been substituted for brick, it would have then been a structure worthy of admiration, and honourable to the people of Boston.

The Park was formerly a large common, but has recently been enclosed, and the borders planted with trees. On the east side there has been for many years a mall, or walk, planted with a double row of large trees, somewhat resembling that in St. James's Park, but scarcely half its length. It affords the inhabitants an excellent promenade in fine weather. At the bottom of the park is a branch of the harbour; and along the shore, to the westward, are several extensive rope-walks built upon piers. At high water boats and barges can

be admitted between the walks, which are all roofed in, and have large brick warehouses at the eastern end. Considerable quantities of excellent cordage are manufactured at these walks, and form an article of exportation to the other States. In the street next the mall, at the upper end of the Park, there is a stand of hackney coaches, superior in every respect to vehicles of that description in London. The horses and carriages of some of them are equal to the best of our glass coaches.

The other portion of Boston, which may with propriety be called the *Old Town*, is the seat of trade and commerce, and contains numerous streets, lanes, and alleys, crowded with stores, shops, warehouses, wharfs, and piers; taverns, coffee-houses, and porter-houses; insurance offices, banks, and state buildings; churches, chapels, and meetings. The extremity of this part of Boston is connected with Charlestown by a handsome bridge, similar to that which connects West Boston with Cambridge, but not so long.

Of late years considerable improvements have taken place in East Boston. Towards the harbour an extensive range of lofty warehouses have been erected upon India Wharf: they are built of red brick, with much neatness and uniformity. Offices for the merchants are below, and the upper part of the building is appropriated to the

reception of goods. A short distance from these warehouses to the northward, is Long Wharf, or Boston Pier, which extends from the bottom of State-street, upwards of 1,750 feet into the harbour. Its breadth is above 100 feet. On the north side of this immense wharf is a range of large warehouses, extending the whole length of the pier. Most of the old buildings have been pulled down, and handsome warehouses, similar to those on India Wharf, erected on their sites. The ground floors of these warehouses are occupied by wholesale or retail stores, merchants' offices, &c. The upper parts are appropriated to the warehousing of goods. At the end of this pier there are upwards of seventeen feet water at ebb tide. On the south front of the warehouses there is a landing place of thirty or forty feet in breadth; but behind, on the north of the buildings, the landing-place is scarcely six feet wide. Both sides are generally occupied by the coasting vessels.

Along the water side there is a great number of other piers, which extend a considerable way into the harbour; these form as many open docks, or slips, which admit vessels of almost every size and draught of water up to the very doors of the houses. Viewing this sight from an eminence it has a singular and beautiful effect; the crowded masts and

rigging of the vessels appear in the midst of the streets, and the colours of all nations are seen flying over the tops of the houses.

Several new streets, consisting entirely of large wholesale and retail stores and warehouses, have lately been built between State-street and the India Wharf. Very few of the merchants dwell in these streets; they generally have private houses in West Boston, about the neighbourhood of the Park and Beacon Hill. Boston is well paved, and has excellent foot-paths of flag stones. The streets, which in the old town are generally narrow and irregularly laid out, are for the most part clean and in good order. The markets are situated near each other, close to the water-side; and are supplied with every description of provisions in the greatest plenty, and at a moderate price. But they are crowded and confined by the surrounding buildings, and the narrow lanes and alleys in the vicinity. This, together with the number of shabby shops and alehouses in the neighbourhood, gives to this part of the town an unseemly appearance, which is still further increased by the litter and confusion unavoidable in a market-place.

As the city continues to increase in population and riches, new markets will doubtless be opened in other parts of the town. Improvements are still going on; and if Boston increases as rapidly as it has done since the revolution, every

part of the peninsula will be crowded with buildings.

On the south side of State-street, near Cornhill, a very lofty and extensive hotel is building on a grand scale, under the direction of one of the principal merchants in the town, though I believe several others have shares in the concern. The person who is to manage the business is a Mr. Hamilton, who formerly kept a large hotel in Montreal, where he actually became a bankrupt from keeping too good a house. He possesses that liberal and generous spirit which will not suffer any thing to be wanted or complained of; and, unfortunately, there was too little liberality in Montreal to recompense him for his well-meant endeavours to please. I took the opportunity one day of going over the building with Mr. Hamilton; the plasterers and carpenters were at work, and he expected that it would be finished in the course of three or four months. The house is seven stories high, and stands on a large extent of ground. It contains about 200 separate chambers for gentlemen; several long rooms for assemblies and dinner parties, an extensive bar and coffee-room below, with some smaller apartments for the use of the landlord and his family. This hotel, if properly conducted, will far exceed any thing of the kind in the United States, and perhaps be equal in accommodation, as it is already in size, to any

house of that description in London. The old post-office in State-street, which stands before the building, is to be pulled down, and the business of the office removed to the hotel, which will then be viewed to advantage from State-street, and form a very noble ornament to that part of the town.

The population of Boston, according to the census of 1800, was 24,937; about three years after it amounted to 28,000; and very lately it was computed to be upwards of 30,000. The majority of the people are Congregationalists; the remainder consist of Episcopalians, Baptists, Quakers, Universalists, Roman Catholics, Methodists, and Sandemanians. They have twenty places of worship, of which *nine* belong to the Congregationalists, and *four* to the Episcopalians.

The inhabitants are distinguished for their domestic habits, regularity of living, integrity in their dealings, hospitality to strangers, strict piety and devotion, and respect for the moral and social virtues; upon which depend the happiness and well being of a community.

The people of Boston, and of New England in general, were formerly remarkable for a punctilious rigidity of character that differed but little from the manners of the Quakers. They were the immediate descendents of men who had fled from

persecution in England; and, as if emigration had soured their dispositions, they in their turn became religious tyrants and persecutors, and committed the most extravagant outrages. In the course of time these puritanical follies wore off with the increasing prosperity of their new settlements; and their frequent intercourse with men of more moderate principles begat in them a greater degree of toleration, and gave them a taste for the innocent amusements of polished society.

It was not, however, without a long and arduous struggle that a theatre was erected, and plays introduced into Boston. In the year 1750 the legislature of the province of Massachussetts' Bay passed an act to prevent stage plays, and other theatrical entertainments, as they tended to increase immorality, impiety, and a contempt of religion; and in 1792 we find Governor Hancock recommending, in a speech to the Senate, the punishment of those who had violated the laws in this respect; for plays had been performed in Boston under the title of "*moral lectures:*" but it seems that even that disguise was not able to smooth over what the Governor conceived to be immoral, and dangerous to society.

This severity of Governor Hancock against the representation of plays in Boston brought upon him the castigation of the writers in the *Echo*, who availed themselves of a ball which the Go-

vernor gave to the negroes of the town, after the abolition of slavery in Massachussetts, to satirize his partiality to negroes and his animosity to plays.

In spite, however, of magisterial opposition, the theatre maintained its ground. Since then, the vast influx of riches into the country, produced by the extensive commerce which the people of Boston have carried on with all the world, has brought with it the fashionable manners of European cities, and in a great measure expelled the former severity of character peculiar to the people of New England.

If it be true that until within these few years *prostitutes* were almost unknown in Boston, and that at the present day their number exceeds one thousand, nearly a thirtieth part of the whole population—we may easily perceive the inroads which riches and luxury will make in the morals and manners of society. In New York, the number of *prostitutes*, and ladies living under the *protection* of gentlemen, amount, I am told, to a *sixteenth part* of the population of that city. I know not whether these estimates are founded on truth, as no *census* of that description of females has ever been taken; and I derived my information only from common report. At all events, it is certain that their number has greatly increased of late years; and it remains to be seen,

how far the *theatre* and other places of *public resort* may have operated in contaminating the *morals* of *society*, and contributing to the number of *unfortunate women*.

The Monday after my arrival, being the last night of the company performing at the Boston theatre for that season, I availed myself of the opportunity, and went to the house in company with some other gentlemen from Lamphear's. It was the benefit night of Mrs. Powell, one of the principal actresses; and unfortunately for her, it was a very rainy night, in consequence of which the house was by no means full. The lower tier of boxes was, however, crowded with genteel people; but there appeared to be very little display of the beauty and fashion visible at New York. The theatre is about the size of Astley's amphitheatre; but very indifferently decorated, and badly lighted. The price of admission is very little less than that of the London theatres. One of our modern comedies was tolerably performed, and succeeded by a pantomimical olio that was remarkable for nothing but bad dancing, miserable tricks, and paltry scenery. Mr. Usher was the principal performer in the comedy, and indeed the only one who displayed any degree of ability beyond mediocrity, though he is considered only as a second rate actor. A Mrs. Stanley recited the epilogue: I was told that she is an En-

glish lady of rank, but I do not remember the title; she is a favourite actress. Mr. Fennel, who has lately retired from the stage, was the principal performer, and considered by the Bostonians as equal if not superior to Cooper. He has since opened a classical seminary on the opposite side of the harbour for the education of young gentlemen preparatory to their going to the University.

There is also a circus or riding-school in Charlestown; and while I was in Boston, Breschard and Pepin's company of equestrians exhibited feats of horsemanship in that place. I went to view the performance one evening, in company with an officer of the British army who was also a resident at Lamphear's hotel. The building is constructed entirely of wood, of a circular form, and very extensive. It has an upper and lower tier of seats all round; and this night being for the benefit of Madame Breschard, the house was crowded to an overflow. The seats on the upper tier were a dollar, and those below half a dollar. The equestrian company consisted of more than twenty persons, who were dressed in imitation of the French imperial guards. The performances commenced with manœuvring as a troop of horse on parade; after which they performed some very dexterous feats, such as riding on their head, and on tip-toe, forming a pyramid of twelve or fifteen men on five or six horses at full speed. Madame

Breschard also greatly distinguished herself; leaping her horse through large hoops raised several feet from the ground; and riding *astride* in the dress of a mameluke. An exhibition of fireworks closed the entertainments of the evening.

The British officer with whom I became acquainted at Lamphear's, belonged to the 101st regiment at Halifax; his name was *Girod.* He had been an officer in the French royalist army of La Vendée; which service he quitted at the peace of 1801. On the breaking out of the war in 1803, he together with Colonel Moulin, Captain de Frotte, and some other chouan officers, were arrested and confined by order of Bonaparte in Fort Joux, situate in Franche Comté, on the frontiers of France and Switzerland: after a confinement of eleven months they made their escape, by working through the stone walls of their prison, and got safe to Vienna. They arrived in England in 1805, and Captain Girod received a commission in the 101st regiment stationed at Halifax. I could not learn upon what business he had visited the United States; though, from some hints that he dropped, I understood it was of an official nature. He was on his return to Halifax, having spent the winter at Washington, where he had been very intimate with Randolph, Key, Gardenier, and others of the federal members of congress.

Boston contains several considerable book-stores; and many works are annually published in that city, but they are mostly from English authors. Original works, indeed, seldom make their appearance in the United States, except in the form of essays, magazines, and small periodical publications. A taste for literature is, however, rapidly diffusing itself over every part of the Union; and Boston yields to no city in the States for its extensive trade in books.

Several daily and weekly newspapers, and a few magazines and reviews are published in Boston. Like those of other towns, the newspapers are attached to the principles of the two parties which at present divide the people; and in their political animadversions they are by no means tender of the character of their opponents. In Boston, and most of the New England States, the federalists have a majority: in the other states, the parties are either nearly balanced, or the numbers are greatly in favour of the antifederalists.

There is not that assemblage of beauty and fashion to be seen in the streets of Boston as is to be met with in those of New York. Yet the Bostonian ladies are not deficient either in personal charms or mental acquirements; but they appear to partake more of the reserved and sedate manners of the English, than the ladies of New

York, who possess somewhat of the lively flippancy of the French character, softened however by the becoming modesty of the English female.

The ladies of Boston do not possess such an agreeable lounge for shopping as the ladies of New York, who in the wide avenue of the Broadway can display their fine forms to the utmost advantage. The streets of Boston, where the principal shops and stores are situated, are narrow and confined, and in the neighbourhood of all the bustle and confusion of mercantile speculation. The difference of population between the two cities, as well as the manners of the people, may also in some measure account for the small display of beauty and fashion compared to that at New York.

I had an opportunity during my short stay of seeing one of their military funerals. The deceased was an officer of rank in the militia, though a very young man; and being nearly related to some of the first families in the town, his funeral was numerously attended. All the volunteer companies were drawn out on the occasion, and marched in the procession with the body, followed by a string of generals, colonels, majors, captains, and subalterns belonging to the militia, in full uniform. After them came the deceased's friends, some in mourning, others in their usual dress; their rear was brought up by more than

fifty gentlemen's carriages and hackney coaches, above half of which were empty. The Governor of the State, Mr. Sullivan, was in his carriage, followed by a number of other gentlemen of rank. This procession, which, as near as I could judge, might contain about a thousand people, extended along three or four streets. I viewed it from State-street, and did not trouble myself to follow it to its destination. I remarked that one of the volunteer companies was dressed in long white coats, red facings, white breeches and gaiters, and cocked hats, somewhat similar to the French uniform in the reign of Louis XVI., and adopted perhaps as a compliment to their old friends and allies.

This stately funeral put me in mind of some observations of Mr. Austin, an American gentleman of Boston, in a work of his entitled "Letters from London in 1802 and 1803," where he laughs at the gorgeous funerals of the English people; their cavalcades of mutes, mourners, mourning coaches, and nodding plumes; and, pretending not to know the meaning of it, mistakes the hearse for a baggage waggon. It is possible, indeed, that he might be ignorant in this respect, as he evidently was in many others. He received, however, a smart retort from a man in the street, who said to him when he asked what the procession meant, "*You may know one day, if you do not come to the gallows!*"

Mr. Austin having also seen written up at an undertaker's, "*Funerals performed,*" affected to believe that they were of a theatrical nature. In short, his remarks answer no other end than merely to show that he can treat a solemn subject with ridiculous levity; and that, like an undertaker, he can be merry even at death's door. But I am astonished that he should complain of the parade and show of our funerals, when they are so far exceeded by those of his own country; at least in pride and ostentation, but not in decent solemnity. Except to very eminent public characters, the funerals in England are attended only by a few of the nearest friends or relatives of the deceased; whereas, in the cities of America, hundreds of people are invited; even strangers, and others who perhaps had never seen the deceased in the course of their lives, are all collected together to follow him to the grave, and proclaim by their *numbers* his merit and virtues. If this does not savour of *ostentation*, I would ask for what purpose thirty *empty* hackney coaches paraded at the military funeral in Boston?

The principal manufactures of Boston are rum, beer, paper-hangings, loaf-sugar, cordage, playing cards, sailcloth, wood-cards, spermaceti and tallow candles, and glass; besides cabinet-work, coaches and carriages of every description; hats, shoes, boots, and other articles of domestic use. The

town is governed by *select men,* chosen annually; with other subordinate officers.

Notwithstanding the Bostonians have considerably relaxed from their former rigid manners, and given into the gaiety and amusements of modern times, yet their scrupulous and devout observance of religious worship still continues with little variation; and they perhaps afford beyond any other people, the pleasing proof that social amusements and diversions are not incompatible with, nor need interrupt, the more important and solemn duties which we owe to our Maker. Sundays are observed with the strictest decorum; the town appears as if completely deserted; and scarcely a person is seen walking the streets, except in going to or coming from a place of worship. Indeed all the towns and cities which I have visited in the United States are extremely exemplary in this respect, and present none of that noise, bustle, and driving about, so common in the streets of London on the sabbath day.

This strict observance of religious duties disposes a stranger to judge favourably of the moral character of the people; nor has he any reason to alter his opinion, until he hears of so many unfortunate females in the cities. They, however, may be a necessary evil in large communities, and perhaps interfere but little with the general character of the people; yet, if their numbers are

really so great as they are said to be in the United States, it can hardly be denied that a proportionate relaxation of morals must have taken place. At the same time it must be confessed, that the Americans have relaxed but little from that outward display of piety and devotion which, though it may not *always* come from the heart, yet certainly conduces to the good order and well being of society. Hypocrisy is the tribute which vice pays to virtue; and if the vicious assume its garb, they must at least conduct themselves with *external* propriety.

There is a material difference in point of character between the people of the northern States and those to the southward; there also exists a considerable spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between them. The former (speaking in general terms) are a plain, honest, and industrious people; regular in their habits, punctual in their payments, and strongly attached to agricultural and commercial pursuits. Before the embargo, their merchants traded with all the world; and the spirit of commercial enterprise had diffused itself in an extraordinary manner over those States. Their ships covered the ocean, and transported the commodities of their own country, and of other nations, to every quarter of the globe. A considerable share of their exports was furnished by their own portion of the

Union; but the greater part was supplied by the southern States. The latter, however, had but few ships of their own, and cared not who were the carriers, so that they could dispose of their cotton, tobacco, and rice. They would have been equally satisfied to sell their produce to foreigners, and let them take it away in their own vessels, as to sell it to the northern merchants; and it is this sort of policy which is said to guide Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and others of their party even at this day; but I cannot bring myself to believe that there is any foundation for such an assertion.

It is true the southern planter acquires his wealth not by the sweat of *his* brow like the New Englander, but by the labour of his *negroes*. He lolls at his ease in the shady retreat, drinking, smoking, or sleeping, surrounded by his slaves and overseers, who furnish him with the luxuries of life, without the necessity of his leaving the piazza. The northern merchant, on the contrary, is strenuously exerting himself from morning till night; exercising his faculties, expanding his mind, and enlarging his ideas by continual intercourse with people of every nation, and correspondence in every part of the globe. The planter is deprived of these opportunities of mixing with the world, and acquiring an extensive knowledge of the interests of States. Hence he supposes,

that to raise a crop and sell it sufficiently benefits the country; nor can he conceive what difference it will make, whether it is taken away in a ship of his own nation or that of a foreign state. He also looks upon the merchant or trader with contempt, as a mere plodding fellow who is making a fortune by his assistance; he even hates him, when by careful industry and œconomy the merchant can leave off business, and become, by the aid of his superior wealth and abilities, a more important personage in society than himself. Such are, in all probability, the causes which have created the existing spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition between the northern and southern States; and which, if not quickly extirpated, may one day or other occasion a separation of the Union. The American States may defy the world while they remain true to themselves; like the bundle of sticks in the fable, they cannot be broken so long as they are *united*; but if they *separate*, they will assuredly be destroyed in *detail*.

A few days before I left Boston, I took a walk to Charlestown for the purpose of visiting Bunker's hill, so celebrated at the commencement of the revolutionary war. The scene of action was more properly on an eminence called Breed's hill, as it was there that the Americans threw up their fortifications, and not on Bunker's hill, which stands at some distance from it. On this memor-

able spot, a monumental pillar, with an urn at top, has been erected to the memory of General Warren, who commanded in the redoubt on the day of action, and fell covered with wounds. The pillar was erected by the free-masons, of whose society he was a member. It is, however, but a paltry memento to the memory of such a man, being, like that on Beacon hill, constructed of brick and plaster. It is already in a state of dilapidation, though not more than fifteen or sixteen years have elapsed since its erection.

The remains of the redoubt are still visible, but will not be so a few years hence, as houses are now building very fast on that side of Charlestown; a small part only is inclosed round the pillar, and is said to be public property; but it is a question whether even that small portion of this memorable spot will be preserved from the unhallowed fangs of the builder. I met there a man who fought on the day of action under Generals Putnam and Warren. He told me, that till that day he had never visited the spot since the engagement. He declared it was with difficulty he could recognise the place where he fought; he however recollected some parts, which he pointed out to me. At the time of the battle he was only nineteen years of age, and many that fought on that day were much younger. The American general ordered them to lie down and

preserve their fire, while the British troops advanced up the hill, until they could see the whites of the soldiers' eyes. This was strictly complied with, and at the moment that the troops thought themselves almost in possession of the redoubt, a murderous discharge of artillery and musketry opened upon them, killed and wounded an immense number, and drove the rest down the hill in confusion. They however rallied and returned again to the charge, and were the second time dispersed. It was not till the third attack that they were enabled to gain possession of the heights; and even then it is said that they would have failed, if the ammunition of the Americans had not been exhausted: several parts of the fortification were gained only at the point of the bayonet.

After the Americans were driven away from this eminence, they disputed the possession of several others; and at length took post at a considerable distance on a height which they had previously fortified, and where the main body of the American army was posted. Here their general regaled them with several hogsheads of beer after their fatigues.

About fifty miles from Boston is situated the spot where the first colonists of New England landed in 1620. They were men who had quitted England on account of religion, and sought in

the New World that liberty of conscience which they were not allowed to enjoy in their own country. Their number did not exceed 120, and they arrived on the coast, it is said, without a fixed determination where to settle. Some writers however assert that it was their intention to have settled on the Hudson river, or the country near it; but that the Dutch, having formed a settlement there, bribed their pilot to carry them further to the north, so that they fell in with the land about Cape Cod, and took shelter in that harbour. The harbour is good, but the country is barren and sandy. This was discouraging, but it was too late in the season to put to sea again: they coasted about in their boat till they found a place more proper for a plantation. Thither they brought their ship, and determined to take up their abode, though the harbour was not so good as the former. This place having a resemblance to the port which they had sailed from in England, they called New Plymouth. The rock on which the first colonists landed is still carefully pointed out to strangers. The sea had, since that time, thrown up sand over it to the height of twenty feet; but at an early period of the revolution the sand was cleared away, when the rock was found split into two parts: this was looked upon as an omen of the separation of the colonies from England. The smallest part was, with considerable difficulty, re-

moved to the market-place of the town of Plymouth, where it now remains as a memento of the landing of their forefathers, as well as of the memorable contest in which they obtained their independence. In the first instance they *fled* from the *chains* of despotism, and in the second they *broke* them. The view of Plymouth which accompanies this work was taken from the sketch of an American gentleman, with which I was favoured. The memory of the landing of the first colonists of New England is preserved by the inhabitants of the States, who have formed a society for the purpose of celebrating that interesting event every year.

CHAPTER XLI.

Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of some of the most eminent Public Characters in the United States.

Thomas Jefferson—James Madison—John Adams—Aaron Burr—Blannerhasset—General Hamilton—John Randolph—Gardenier—Albert Gallatin—Thomas Addis Emmet—General Moreau—Madame Jerome Bonaparte—Robert R. Livingston—Joel Barlow—Chief Justice Jay—Commodore Barron—Dr. Mitchill—General Pinckney—James Munroe—Commerce of the United States—Exports and Imports for 1807 *—Duties upon Imports at the principal Sea-port Towns—Salaries of the principal Officers of the Government—Names of the separate States belonging to the Federal Republic—General statistical View of the United States for a period of Twenty Years.*

MR. JEFFERSON.

The character of this gentleman has been placed in such opposite lights by his friends and enemies,

that it is difficult for an impartial person to ascertain which side is most entitled to credit. From one party he has experienced the grossest flattery, and from the other the most malignant invective; by the one he is described as the wisest and most virtuous of men, by the other he is denounced as a traitor to his country. Now in a nation like the United States, where party spirit and prejudice repeatedly burst asunder the strictest bonds of friendship, and even family union, facts will be exaggerated to suit the views of the contending parties; and where facts cannot be found, invention will necessarily supply their place. To hear both sides of the question, and to take the medium, is, in such cases, perhaps, the most likely method of coming at the truth; but in the conduct of public characters there will always be circumstances that will speak for themselves, independent of the flattery of friends, or of the calumniating prejudice of enemies. Without entering, therefore, into the cabals of either party, I shall endeavour to set before the reader those plain facts and circumstances in the course of Mr. Jefferson's public career, that will best explain his real character, and show whether he merits the applauses or execrations which have been so abundantly bestowed upon him.

Mr. Jefferson is a native of Virginia, and said to be between fifty and sixty years of age. In his

person he is tall and of slender make; possessed of a fresh complexion, and of a clear and penetrating eye. His manners and deportment are modest and affable. An enemy to luxury and parade, he lives at Monticello in the simple and negligent style of a man wholly devoted to rural and philosophical pursuits. When the sitting of Congress required his presence at Washington, he carried with him the same negligent simplicity. In the plainest garb, and unattended even by a single negro, he would ride up to his splendid mansion, tie his horse to the paling, and immediately receive the visits of the foreign ministers and others who had business to transact with him. This appearance of republican simplicity so much praised by Mr. Jefferson's admirers is, however, more the offspring of a philosophical spirit than an unambitious mind. What cares a man of learning and research for dress or appearances? He prides himself upon despising them; but he has not the less ambition for that. So it has been with Mr. Jefferson, who upon various occasions during his public career, while he carried the outward air of an unassuming patriot, was secretly employed in promoting his own aggrandizement.

With respect to the charge brought against Mr. Jefferson for deserting the government of Virginia at the most critical period of the revolutionary war, it has been flatly contradicted by

some, and is at best but feebly supported by his opponents. At all events, he is not the first patriotic philosopher and orator, who, when the enemy appeared, abandoned his trust and fled from the danger that surrounded him.

His resignation of the office of Secretary of State in 1794, previous to the western insurrection, is less favourable to his reputation than even the abandonment of his post in Virginia, if we can put any faith in the intercepted dispatches of the French minister Fauchet. Speaking of the probability of the insurrection (which afterwards took place), Fauchet says, "Jefferson, on whom the patriots cast their eyes to succeed the president (Washington), had foreseen this crisis: he prudently retired, in order to avoid making a figure against his inclination in scenes the secret of which will soon or late be brought to light." These instances (says an American writer) show Mr. Jefferson to want firmness; and a man who shall once have abandoned the helm in the hour of danger, or at the appearance of a tempest, seems not fit to be trusted in better times; for no one can know how soon, or from whence, a storm may come.

The great and principal accusation, however, against Mr. Jefferson is, thas he promoted the revolutionary war, opposed the British treaty, and became the determined enemy of Great Britain, in order *to cancel the debts which he and his family*

owed to British merchants. This, if true, would certainly be the most serious charge that he has to contend with, inasmuch as it would affect his character, not merely in a political but in a private point of view; and give a death-blow at once to every thing that could be said in favour of him as an honest and virtuous man. But I am happy to say that I never could trace this disgraceful charge to any satisfactory source; it seemed to rest merely upon the *ipse dixit* of his enemies, and is flatly contradicted by his friends. That there were some differences of opinion between Mr. J. and his creditors, respecting the payment of the *interest* of his debts during the war, is evident from a letter which was afterwards written by him, when minister at Paris, and read in evidence at the federal court in Richmond, Virginia, in 1797.

That letter sets the private character and principles of Mr. Jefferson in a more favourable light than all the fulsome panegyrics which his party have ever lavished upon him; and there can be no hesitation in saying, that if his propositions were acceded to by his creditors, and fulfilled by him, not the smallest slur can attach to his character, with respect to the payment of his debts; and that consequently the insinuations which have been thrown out as to his having refused his assent to the British treaty, because it compelled him to

pay those debts, are false and scandalous inventions of his enemies.

In 1780 and 1781 Mr. Jefferson was governor of Virginia. During that period he wrote his Notes on Virginia, at the request of the King of France. They were not intended for the press, yet they found their way into print. The picture of the American Indian is no doubt rather too highly coloured, as well as many other passages concerning the New World; this Mr. Jefferson would most likely have avoided, had he originally intended his work to have been published; but at that period it was the policy and interest of the United States to represent itself in the most favourable way to the French monarch. The author of the Notes on Virginia was therefore guilty of a very pardonable fault in setting every thing relative to his own country in the best possible point of view. Policy rather than truth guided his pen on that occasion.

In 1783 he produced his form of a Constitution, which was approved by many respectable members of the Congress, particularly Franklin, Madison, &c. who were for a more limited and simple form of government than that espoused by General Washington and his party. The latter wished for a Constitution modelled upon that of Great Britain; the former, steady to republican prin-

ciples, were desirous of a pure *democracy*, in which the voice of the people should every where prevail. How far such a form of government would have suited the Americans may now be pretty well ascertained.

At this period Mr. Jefferson was a member of Congress; and in March 1786 we find him in England, where he no doubt arranged with his creditors those propositions which he made them in the course of the next year, while ambassador at Paris. His very presence in England must completely refute the calumnies of his enemies respecting the payment of his debts; for surely he would never have dared to show his face in the country after endeavouring to cheat its merchants of their property.

During Mr. Jefferson's residence in France he was attentive to every thing that could promote the welfare of his country. He even availed himself of every opportunity to increase his own stock of information, that when he returned home he might employ it for the benefit of those around him. His philosophical researches and discoveries in various branches of science, since then, have proved that his time was not spent in vain.

In 1789 Mr. Jefferson quitted his diplomatic functions in France, and returned to his native country. A new constitution having been formed

and agreed to by the several states, he was appointed secretary to the federal government under President Washington. In this situation he had many arduous duties to perform, particularly during the period of the French minister Genet's intrigues; but he seems to have conducted himself on that occasion in the most irreproachable manner. His retirement from office in 1794 has, however, given rise to much invective against him; and though the ostensible motive was said to be the improvement of his estate, and the regulation of his domestic affairs, it is generally thought that he withdrew himself to avoid an interference in those measures which, though he saw the necessity of them, yet were calculated to render him unpopular with his party. He also saw that the cup of humiliation was on the point of being presented to President Washington, and that he would most probably decline another election. Mr. Adams was the only one, except himself, likely to succeed to the presidency. The contest would therefore lie between them alone, and it was necessary that Mr. Jefferson should at such period strengthen himself in the good opinion of his party. Hence, when the suppression of the western insurrection, and other unpopular acts of the government necessarily took place, Mr. Jefferson, who, in the language of Fauchet, "*had foreseen this crisis,*"

was peaceably seated in his philosophical retirement; and while the federalists were losing ground, his party were strengthening its numbers.

In 1797 Mr. Adams succeeded to the presidential chair, and Mr. Jefferson to the vice-presidency. For the first two or three years Mr. Adams was popular, and the federal party numerous; but from various causes which I have mentioned in another place, the antifederalists or democrats became so strong towards the close of Mr. Adams's presidency, that Mr. Jefferson was chosen at the ensuing election by a very considerable majority. His party now rose superior to their opponents, and the government offices were filled with them, to the entire exclusion of federalists and federal principles.

The sentiments of Mr. Jefferson on that occasion were expressed in his inaugural speech. Whether or not he has acted up to those professions, his administration of the general government for eight years will sufficiently show. As his conduct during that period is not viewed in the most favourable light by the federal party in America, or by the people of England, I shall briefly notice such parts as appear to have given the most umbrage.

Mr. Jefferson is charged with partiality to the French government, and his conduct has in a great measure given rise to strong suspicions of that

nature; but whether his apparent partiality arises from a love or fear of the tyrannical ruler of that country is somewhat doubtful. Yet it is certain that he sent considerable sums of money to France, under the pretext of having purchased Louisiana and the Floridas, whereas in fact neither have been bought. The Floridas are not even claimed by the Americans, and are still in the possession of the Spaniards; and as to Louisiana, the United States have nothing more than a sort of commercial agency at New Orleans; for the city does not belong to them, as will appear from the following *curious* observations of an American writer:— "It is a *matter of mirth* what erroneous notions the *world* has relative to the cession of Louisiana to the United States. A thousand people imagine at this moment that New Orleans belongs to us, whereas New Orleans still belongs to His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain; it is comprehended in the tract reserved by him."

The opinions which the Americans also have of the French inhabitants of Louisiana is singular enough. One of their writers, speaking of the increase of their regular army on the frontiers of Louisiana, says: "The additional force was necessary and politic; the creoles and French inhabitants of that country have always been, and must be for many years to come, *governed with the fear of the bayonet!* They have no rational

idea of liberty even if they were *honestly* disposed." What a specimen this for the Canadians, should a war ever take place between Great Britain and the United States!

I cannot help thinking that Mr. Jefferson, during his administration, was swayed more by *fear* than a love of France. His great plan of government was œconomy, and a desire to remain at peace with all the world. The Americans have for nearly twenty years prospered beyond measure upon the troubles which have distracted the other parts of the globe. Riches have poured into their country, while other nations have been fighting for their very existence, or have sunk under the murderous fangs of an ambitious monster. Mr. Jefferson, if he had the smallest spark of virtuous patriotism in his bosom, could not but view with pleasure the happy state of his own country, flourishing in an unexampled manner amid the downfall and crash of nations. I will do him the justice to think that he has viewed it in this light, and that he has been reluctantly dragged into the snares that have at various times been laid by the wily Corsican.

Anxious to preserve that state of things under which his country had so long prospered, he has perhaps succumbed to the tyrant further than prudence should have permitted, and endeavoured to buy off hostilities by almost unjustifiable means.

This seeming subservience to the views of France has no doubt given rise to jealousy on our part, and created many of those difficulties which yet stand in the way of an adjustment of the differences between the two countries.

Without pretending to decide whether England or America is in fault, though most impartial people are of opinion that both are in some measure to blame, yet I cannot think so meanly of Mr. Jefferson's character as to suppose that he would have suffered his enmity to England or his predilection for France to involve the two countries in a war: it would have proved destructive to that œconomical system which is declared to have been his favourite plan of government, and would have completely thrown America into the arms of France. The spirit of rivalry, jealousy, and opposition, which *certainly* exists between the southern planters and northern merchants in the United States, has led people to suppose that Mr. Jefferson and his party, in laying on the embargo, have voluntarily submitted to a great sacrifice, even of their own property, in order to be revenged of their opponents and of the British nation, and to ingratiate themselves with Buonaparte. Hence the embargo is held out as a retaliating measure against both belligerents, and is so considered by our government; yet it is roundly asserted that Mr. Jefferson's object in laying on the embargo on their

shipping was for the purpose of annihilating the commerce of the States, and reducing the merchants and traders to agriculturists.

How this charge can be reconciled with Mr. Jefferson's known sentiments and actions during his administration I cannot easily perceive. It is well known that the flourishing state of the treasury for the eight years which he was in power was occasioned *solely* by commerce. Why therefore he or his successor Mr. Madison (who follows in his steps) should wish to annihilate such an easy, agreeable, and popular source of revenue, is surely unaccountable; but that the nation should quietly submit to such proceeding would indeed be passing strange. The embargo, while it lasts, certainly annihilates every branch of foreign commerce carried on by the States; but it cannot be argued from thence that Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison aims at the total destruction of commerce. It has no doubt been the source of much altercation with the belligerents, but the United States still continued to prosper; and though the merchants and the government grumbled, and vociferated their complaints against the English and French outrages, still they filled their pockets and their treasury.

Hence it is difficult to conceive for what good purpose the American government can aim at the destruction of their commerce. During Mr. Jef-

ferson's administration, it entirely paid the expenses of the nation, and diminished the national debt. Agriculture was relieved from the burthens of the state; while commerce, which bore them all, prospered beyond the most sanguine expectations of its admirers. To destroy, therefore, this profitable source of revenue, would be to throw the burthen of taxation wholly upon agriculture, to which it is said Mr. Jefferson is warmly attached. Such a proceeding would argue not only an ignorance of the true interests of his country, but even a want of common sense. Either, therefore, the accusation against Mr. Jefferson must be false, or his plans must be at variance with his inclinations, and with the solemn declaration which he made in his inaugural speech.

With respect to the embargo and non-importation act, which many believe to be the commencement of this system of politics, it must be confessed that appearances are greatly in favour of the assertions of the federal party. Yet if the destruction of commerce was solely the object of these measures, surely they would not be approved of by so many merchants. It is true they may be democrats, and they may feel much pleasure in revenging themselves on Great Britain, whose commerce and manufactures are materially affected by those acts; yet, with every allowance for their patriotic feeling on this head, it would sup-

pose more than Roman virtue, to believe them capable of sacrificing their best interests merely to annoy their political opponents, their own countrymen too! Ask a democratic merchant, who has yet a fortune to make by commerce, whether he will give it up for ever, to gratify such a feeling, or to further Mr. Jefferson's *plans* for making the United States *a Chinese nation?* There is not one who now supports that gentleman, or his measures as followed up by his successor, but would answer in the negative. Mr. Jefferson's great object is to encourage the agricultural interests of his country, in preference to commerce and manufactures. It is even said, that he would rather that foreign nations should take away the produce of the country in their own vessels, in the same manner as the Chinese trade with others, than that the Americans should be engaged in shipping, which he looks upon as the cause of all the differences that have taken place between his country and the belligerent powers of Europe. Such a sentiment is worthy of a philosopher, but not of a politician; and I doubt much if the Americans would ever consent to abandon their shipping. It is this opinion, no doubt, which has given rise to the assertion that Mr. Jefferson wishes to annihilate commerce. This has gone abroad in order to depreciate his character, though every American possessed of

common sense ought to know, that without commerce and barter agriculture could not exist to any extent beyond the mere demands of their own people. But that shipping is not necessary to an agricultural nation, we have only to turn our eyes to the Chinese, who, without a single ship, trade with every quarter of the globe; and live undisturbed by the wars and disputes which afflict other nations. To wish to make America such a nation, is excusable in a philosopher,

> "Who would, with such perfection, govern, Sir,
> To excel the golden age!"

Mr. Jefferson, it will be allowed, possesses great abilities; and I have no doubt that, for the most part, his actions have been influenced by a regard for the welfare of his country. It is however confessed, even by the warmest of his admirers, that when he invited Thomas Paine to America, "*with prayers for the success of his useful labours,*" he committed a very indiscreet act; and there cannot be a greater proof of it, than the general detestation and contempt in which Paine was held by every respectable inhabitant of New York, where he resided. Not the most zealous partisan of Mr. Jefferson will notice him in public; and even those who are so lost as to admire his writings, are ashamed to be seen in his company. The conduct of the people in this respect is highly

praise-worthy, and is a severe rebuke to Mr. Jefferson for having invited such an infamous character into the country. Mr. Jefferson also, by his patronage of Duane, the Irish editor of the Aurora, and giving him a colonel's commission in the new regular army that he raised, has considerably lessened himself in the esteem of the respectable part of the American people. His encouraging General Wilkinson in seizing unoffending inhabitants on suspicion at New Orleans, transporting them two or three thousand miles from their homes, and then setting them at liberty without a trial, because no charges could be substantiated against them, must also be considered as an arbitrary stretch of power, exceeding the limits authorized by the constitution. These indiscretions, coupled with his embargo and non-importation acts, and his pusillanimous fear of, or improper partiality to, France, have not only tended to diminish his popularity, but have sunk the American character in the eyes of Europe. Mr. Jefferson's party has yet a majority throughout the country, and he quitted the presidential chair with eclat; but I question whether he retired with "*the reputation and the favour which brought him into it.*"

MR. MADISON.

This gentleman, who is now President of the United States, is considered as the pupil of Mr. Jefferson. He was but a youth at the early part of the revolution, yet was actively employed under his great leaders, Franklin, Jefferson, and others, in promoting the views of the republican party. His name appears as one of the deputies from Virginia in 1787, for the purpose of forming a new Constitution; after which he was variously employed in the subordinate departments of the government, particularly during the secretaryship of Mr. Jefferson in 1793, when he brought forward his project of a *commercial discrimination*, for the purpose of imposing heavier duties on foreign goods, and promoting domestic manufactures. The French minister Fauchet says that Mr. Jefferson was the real author of the proposition thus introduced by Mr. Madison: at all events it is certain that the former gentleman, in his capacity as secretary of state, had previously made a report to Congress on the subject of commerce in the autumn of 1793.

In that report, Mr. Jefferson proposes the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and certain restrictions upon foreign commerce, particularly upon that of Great Britain, who it seems had im-

posed high duties on some of the American productions, and excluded others altogether from her ports. At that time there was no treaty of commerce between the two countries. Mr. Madison's proposition was therefore brought forward rather as a measure of retaliation than to favour any of the views of the French faction; though, in some measure, it unavoidably had that effect: consequently it excited the violent opposition of the federal party, and was ultimately negatived. Every country, however, possesses a right to regulate its commerce in whatever manner is most to its own advantage. Great Britain had done this, and it was proposed that America should do the same; nor can I see in what shape either Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison can be charged with partiality to France on that score. The federalists, however, persisted in the opinion, that "their real object was to promote and foster the languishing manufactures of France, by an exclusion of those of Great Britain, at the expense of the United States." Fortunately for both countries, a treaty was shortly after concluded by Mr. Jay, who had been appointed envoy to England for that purpose; and thus the commerce and productions of each nation were put upon a reciprocal footing, without resorting to unpleasant and irritating measures.

From that period until he became secretary of

state in Mr. Jefferson's presidency, Mr. Madison bore no very conspicuous part in public affairs; but on his entering upon that important office, his name became familiar to all who interested themselves in the affairs of America and the two great belligerent powers of Europe. The repeated disputes, and consequent explanations and negotiations, which have taken place between the three nations for several years past, and which are as far from an amicable adjustment at this day (1813) as they were seven years ago, have certainly given Mr. Madison full employment in his official capacity, and made him known to the world in the character of a diplomatician. The abilities which he has displayed are of no mean stamp; but he has exhibited in his diplomatic style of writing a studied obscurity and an intricate verbosity which seem to carry with it a desire in the writer to puzzle, perplex, and prolong the discussion of a business, which ought rather to have been candidly, fairly, and briefly stated, in order to its being brought to an immediate adjustment.

It has confessedly been the policy of Mr. Jefferson, and is also the policy of Mr. Madison, his successor, to negotiate rather than fight: hence we have an elucidation of the motives which have hitherto baffled the attempts of the British government to settle our disputes with America: for, had such a settlement taken place as we desired,

the United States would inevitably have been plunged into a war with France. This it has been Mr. Jefferson's policy to avoid; in doing which, a show of hostility was necessarily obliged to be kept up towards England. Whether America has acted wisely in so doing, is a question which principally concerns herself. Her commerce is already annihilated by the embargo; from which she suffers more than either of the belligerents.

In the course of the disputes between the two parties on their differences with England and France, they have generally defended the proceedings of that nation to whom they were attached from political or party motives; but this contest has been carried on chiefly by newspaper politicians, and a few factious demagogues, mostly French or British renegadoes, whose inflammatory writings in favour of *French principles* have been imprudently patronized by the democratic Americans, and hence their party has incurred the severe but just animadversions of the federalists.

As to the great body of the American people, I firmly believe they are attached neither to England nor France, further than their own interest leads them; or, if any preference does exist, it is in favour of England, with whom they traffic to a greater extent than any other nation in the

world, and with whose interests their own are so closely blended.

Their peculiar form of government, however, renders them liable to be divided in favour of one or other of their principal statesmen who offer themselves as candidates for the presidency. Hence they become split into parties, and range themselves under their favourite leaders. Europeans settled in the country, as foreigners or adopted citizens, naturally attach themselves to that side which is most congenial to their political sentiments; and the imprudent length which many of them have gone in divulging their opinions, has not only disgraced those who were connected with them, but has injured the American character in the eyes of foreign nations.

An American writer, speaking of the impressment of American seamen by the British ships of war, acknowledges that protections are indiscriminately granted to foreigners in the American service. "It must not be forgotten," says he, "that certificates bearing testimony of a seaman's being an American citizen are very easily obtained by a little *hard swearing*. A dollar and a false oath very often transform a foreigner into an American; and if this ready-made countryman of ours be impressed into a British ship, we clamour

loudly about the cruelty and injustice of British naval officers.

"Not many months since, an English lad not quite nineteen, who had deserted from a British man of war, wished to go out from New York to the East Indies, as seaman, with an American captain. The captain represented the danger of his being impressed by the British, and advised him at all events to go and get a certificate of his being a *native American*. The seaman followed this advice, and returned within a few hours, flourishing a certificate testifying that he was born in America. The captain asked him how he got it. The seaman told him, that he went into the street and found an Irishman whom he asked to go along with him to the proper officer and swear that he was born in America; to which the Irishman agreed, and the sailor got the certificate. The captain asked him how much he gave the Irishman. Two dollars, says the sailor. That was too much, replied the other, you should have got him to do it for half. "Why," says the sailor, "I tried to beat him down to a dollar; but he insisted upon it, that *two dollars* were little enough in all conscience for a *false oath*, and that he would not perjure himself for less!"

Speaking of the probability of a war between England and America, he observes, that "nothing is to be feared from an invading army as

it would be useless, and must end in the destruction of the men who are debarked. No army could act effectually, and the woods would be beset with riflemen: nor would the British have occasion to land a single man upon our coasts; the bombardment and laying in ashes of all our principal towns could be effected with the utmost ease; because they are entirely defenceless. But this would be a wanton and unnecessary outrage; and the British would most effectually insure all the advantages of the war by blockading all our ports, by destroying all our foreign commerce; which would abundantly enrich them and make us poor indeed. The foreign commerce destroyed, government must derive its revenues from the farmers; and in what must they pay the taxes? will it be the rude produce of their land? will the executive subdue the enemy with *potatoes* and *turnips?* The government may issue its paper money; but I think, after the example of the depreciation of paper-money, and its consequences during the revolutionary war, the people will not be very ready to place much confidence in it. Foreign loans she cannot raise; and the sequestration of British property will be retaliated. In short, America has every thing to lose, and Great Britain nothing to gain!"

Such are also the opinions of all men of sense in the United States. It would indeed be a la-

mentable event were the two countries to be again involved in a destructive war, which could benefit neither, and must be highly ruinous to both. It would be a poor consolation to us, that we had destroyed the commerce of that rising country, when we had perhaps *ruined* ourselves in the attempt, and converted the Americans into eternal enemies. If we think to sever the Union, and to take the New England States once more under our government, we shall find ourselves greatly mistaken; for any attempt of that kind would only tend to reconcile their differences among themselves, and join with more unanimity against us. "Differences," says Dr. Johnson, "are never so effectually laid asleep as by some common calamity. An enemy *unites* all to whom he threatens danger."

No form of government in the United States can be better adapted to our interests than the present; it insures peace with other nations, and lays claim to no other aggrandizement than that which is effected by fair commercial exertion. It would be an unfortunate event for us, if the different States were to fall out among themselves, and dissolve the Union; for the French would be more likely to get a footing to the *southward*, than ever we should to the *northward*. Philanthropy might indeed weep, if such an event was to take place; for that fine portion

of the American continent would, if divided into separate governments, become distracted by jealousies, and fall a prey to the intrigues of foreign nations, which might ultimately lead to their subjugation.

I have, however, too high an opinion of our government to think that they would ever enter upon a war with America, but with the most heartfelt regret. They must know and feel the value of her friendship, and that a war would inevitably throw her into the hands of France. I should also hope that there is no *real* American who would plunge his country into a war with us, but upon the most unavoidable necessity; nor that would be vile enough to attempt to dissolve that Union of the States, which has been so happily cemented by the great Washington. Were there one to be found who could be guilty of such baseness, I should be inclined to say with one of our poets—

> "Blast the traitor
> And his pernicious councils—who for wealth,
> For power, the pride of greatness, or revenge,
> Would plunge his native land in civil wars!"

JOHN ADAMS.

It is one of the misfortunes of a statesman's life, that he never can possess the unqualified ap-

probation of the public; for there ever have existed, and always will exist, a contrariety of sentiment and difference of opinion among people, as to the abilities of their rulers. A man in public life may possess what is called popularity, which apparently carries with it the approving voice of the whole: but that is far from being the case; and it has frequently happened, that the most popular character has been compelled to drink the bitter cup of humiliation to the very dregs. This is too often occasioned by a factious spirit of opposition on one part, and a capricious desire of novelty on the other. His enemies endeavour to deprive him of his authority, for the purpose of getting into power themselves; and his friends, satiated with the contemplation of his virtues, or tired of their subservience, are anxious to set up a *new idol* in his place. Thus it is, that between friends and enemies, the man in public life, after enjoying years of popularity and applause, often retires from his post with diminished favour and reputation. This heart-rending humiliation is often experienced in those countries where public men are obliged to court the approbation of the multitude, rather than that of the sovereign. In republics they have to study the pleasure of the people only; in limited monarchies they have to look for approbation of their measures to the king as well as the people: but in despotic monarchies

it is sufficient that "LE ROI LE VEUT." Since the establishment of an independent government in the United States of America, there is no country perhaps, with the exception of revolutionary France, where the caprice and vacillation of the people have been exhibited in a greater degree than in those States. They have been tossed to and fro, and almost torn to pieces by a variety of factions at different periods; and are at this day separated into two great parties, each of which are subdivided into smaller factions, under their particular leaders, who are severally aspiring to the presidency. The great Washington, whom they and all the world at one time united to applaud and honour, experienced the frowns of fortune at the close of his public career: he retired from the presidential chair just in time to avoid the disgrace of losing the next election. The subject of the present memoir, John Adams, who was one of the foremost in the cause of liberty, lost the high honour of a second election; and Mr. Jefferson, though fortunate enough to leave behind him a successor *after his own heart*, yet retired from office with diminished lustre: he would never have been elected again.

The origin of the two parties may be dated from the period of adopting the new Constitution. Peace had no sooner been restored to the country, than the Americans perceived the defects of their

existing government. The powers of Congress were too limited; it was even incapable of enforcing obedience to its own laws; for the confidence which had been reposed in it by the people during a season of danger gradually subsided, and their zeal for the common cause became subservient to their own private interests.

To remedy these evils, a new Constitution was proposed and adopted in 1787 and 1788. It did not, however, pass without warm debates, and even violent opposition; but it was at length carried, upon the whole, by a considerable majority. The friends of the Constitution called themselves federalists, and distinguished their opponents by the name of antifederalists. The former party, with the best intentions of giving the United States a free republican form of government, yet were anxious to model it upon the constitution of England, at the same time rejecting the exorbitant powers of the monarchical and aristocratical parts of that government. The opposite party, on the contrary, were inclined to a more limited form of government, which should put greater power into the hands of the people, and circumscribe those of the executive. Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and other leading characters, espoused this form of government, as most suitable to an infant country, and more likely to preserve the liberties of the people, in defence of which so

much blood had been shed. They however submitted to the sense of the majority, which was considered as the voice of the people; but several amendments were proposed and admitted, by which the Constitution was rendered more palatable to the dissenting party, and tended materially to render the great body of the people satisfied with the new government.

The leaders of the federal party consisted of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jay, Ellsworth, and others, who at that time possessed the almost unanimous confidence of the nation, notwithstanding the difference of opinion that had been expressed respecting the merits of the new Constitution. It was therefore by general consent that Washington was elected president for four years, and Adams vice-president. So little, however, do political parties adhere to their original principles, or act from *pure disinterested* motives, that the antifederalists, though they submitted to the authority of the new government, yet immediately formed themselves into a party in opposition to the men who administered that government.

The contest was not now to preserve the liberties of the people; it was for place and power; and, like our ministry and opposition, the federalists and their opponents were struggling, the one to retain and the other to obtain "the loaves and fishes." I must, however, do the Americans the

justice to say, that the emoluments of office could not be a very tempting consideration with them, since the salaries of the government people of that country are barely sufficient for their support. Ambition was their *foible*, and power their *object*. The character of General Washington, however, was superior to either; and even his enemies allow that it was with reluctance he quitted his retreat on the banks of the Potomac to take upon himself the responsible duties of chief magistrate. Like the Roman Cincinnatus, he had retired from the fatigues of war to the bosom of his family and the avocations of his farm. There he sought that repose which was all he asked after having performed the most essential services for his country: but no sooner did the voice of the people call on him for further aid, than he hastened to comply with their wishes, and display in the *cabinet* the wisdom which he had before exhibited in the *field*.

The rival leaders and their partisans were no sooner marshalled in political array, than the people proceeded to range themselves on that side most congenial to their sentiments or interests. Many, no doubt, acted from an honest feeling and principle; but more, in all probability, suffered themselves to be led away by the first *luminous orator* that caught their ear. "Of all kinds of credulity," says a celebrated writer, "the most

obstinate and wonderful is that of political zealots; of men who, being numbered they know not how or why in any of the parties that divide a state, resign the use of their own eyes and ears, and resolve to believe nothing that does not favour those whom they profess to follow."

The antifederalists had long before accused the opposite party with being devoted to the interests of England, and of even being in her pay. The federalists, in their turn, accused their opponents of partiality towards France, and a desire to overturn the Constitution. Hence arose the idea which foreigners have, that the Americans are divided into a French and English party. The Union, however, was going on tolerably well; trade and commerce revived with the establishment of the new government; public credit was restored; men once more slept in safety, and once more had encouragement to be industrious. In short, notwithstanding the efforts of the opposition party, every thing seemed to promise a long and uninterrupted course of happiness to the nation, when the French revolution began that chastisement which the Ruler of nations has justly inflicted, and is still inflicting, on a degenerate and impious world. The first dawn of the French revolution was received in America with raptures, particularly by the party out of power: indeed, numbers of the federal party, who viewed the revolution in a phi-

lanthropical point of view, also rejoiced at the liberty which the French had obtained, and joined the opposite party in their congratulations on that happy event. The same honourable sensations were felt in England; and there were few who did not rejoice at the emancipation of an enlightened people from the tyrannical yoke of a vicious government: but when France became a prey to all the frightful horrors of anarchy and civil war,

> "When, like a matron butcher'd by her sons,
> And cast beside some common way, a spectacle
> Of horror and affright to passers by,
> ———She bled at every vein;
> When murders, rapes, and massacres prevail'd;
> When churches, palaces, and cities blazed;
> When insolence and barbarism triumph'd,
> And swept away distinction; peasants trod
> Upon the necks of nobles: low were laid
> The reverend crosier and the holy mitre,
> And desolation cover'd all the land;"

when this consuming fire threatened to destroy every thing that was valuable in society, and was about to extend its ravages to every quarter of the globe, it then became the duty of every honest man to endeavour to check its progress. In England its all-devouring flames were happily quenched by the firmness and vigilance of the government: but on the continent the means opposed to it being too feeble, almost every state in Europe

fell a prey to its violence. America had but just emerged from a long and painful conflict; and, fortunately for her, the majority of the people felt but little inclination to renew the scenes of devastation and carnage which had so recently convulsed their country: in fact, there was but little for the revolutionary mania to work upon. The American government had been recently modelled upon the purest principles of republican freedom; yet the jacobinical principles of equality, and that vicious system of morality which sanctions the foulest deeds for the attainment of a good end, caught a strong hold of the minds of the dissolute and depraved, and likewise of that party which had opposed itself to the existing order of things.

The antifederalists received Frenchmen of every description, however vile their characters, with open arms. Emissaries of the jacobin government of France poured into the country; and Genet, the French minister, was intriguing for the purpose of involving the States in a war with England. The antifederalists now carried their animosity to their opponents too far, and justified by their conduct in favour of jacobinism and French revolutionary principles the animadversions which were heaped upon them by the federalists. The latter no longer called them antifederalists, but democrats, jacobins, and traitors; and the animosity between them proceeded to the greatest

lengths. The spirit of party was excluded from no class of society; political intolerance proceeded to the extreme: even, frequently, in the same dwelling it was found to be the greatest; and the most disgraceful and hateful appellations were mutually bestowed on each other. The press teemed with scurrilous language; and pamphlets, newspapers, and magazines were loaded with personal abuse and mutual recriminations.

The spirit of faction at length became so violent, that strong measures were resorted to by the federalists, who were then in power. Genet, the French minister, was deprived of his functions; Edmund Randolph, who afterwards intrigued with Fauchet (Genet's successor), was disgraced; and Mr. Jefferson, after serving the office of vice-president for a short period, finding his measures opposed in the council, withdrew to mature his schemes for attaining the presidency. These acts of the federal government caused great discontent among the opposite party, which was heightened by the unsettled state of the public accounts, and the necessity of imposing taxes upon the people: these, together with Jay's treaty, the sedition and alien bills, and the attempt to raise a standing army, diminished Washington's popularity, occasioned the western insurrections, eventually threw Mr. Adams and the federalists out of power,

and raised Mr. Jefferson and his friends to the government.

Mr. Adams's public career is so connected with the brief account which I have given of the two parties who divide the people of the United States, that the life of one is the history of the other. In order, however, to ascertain Mr. Adams's talents and abilities for the high office which he held as president of the United States, it is necessary to enter into some of the particulars of his character and conduct while in that office. I cannot do this better than by availing myself of the opinions of the late General Hamilton, who belonged to the federal party, and was the intimate friend of Washington. It appears that in 1796, when Washington declined standing any more for the Presidency, in order, no doubt, to prevent the possibility of his suffering the humiliation of losing the election, the federal party were divided in their opinions as to the merits of Mr. Adams and Mr. Thomas Pinckney. Adams's partisans wished to prevent Pinckney from having an equal number of votes with the man of their particular choice, and by this means to exclude him from all chance of the Presidency. Others thought that Pinckney was entitled to at least equal support with Adams: amongst these was Mr. Hamilton, who warmly espoused the cause of Pinck-

ney, and who, having on that account been much calumniated by Adams and his party, published a letter in justification of his own conduct. As this letter will afford the reader an insight into the views of the parties in that country, and the method in which they manage an election, I have taken the liberty to lay before him an extract of the most interesting parts. General Hamilton was one of the most impartial and gentlemanly characters among the leaders of the revolution; greatly beloved by his friends, and esteemed even by his enemies. His sentiments respecting Mr. Adams may therefore be looked upon as the effusions of a man who felt himself ill-treated, but who scorned to speak unjustly even of his calumniators.

"Not denying to Mr. Adams patriotism, integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be deficient in candour were I to conceal the conviction that he does not possess the talents adapted to the *administration* of government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of chief magistrate.

"Strong evidence of some traits of this character is to be found in a journal of Mr. Adams, which was sent to Congress during that gentleman's mission at the court of France. The particulars of this journal cannot be expected to have

remained in my memory; but I recollect one which may serve as a sample: being among the guests invited to dine with the Count de Vergennes, minister for foreign affairs, Mr. Adams thought fit to give a specimen of American politeness, by conducting Madame de Vergennes to dinner. In the way she was pleased to make retribution in the current coin of French politeness, by saying to him, '*Monsieur* Adams, *vous êtes le* Washington *de négociation.*' Stating the incident, he makes this comment upon it: "These people have a very pretty knack of paying compliments:" he might also have added, They have a very dexterous knack of disguising a sarcasm.

"The opinion, however, which I have avowed, did not prevent my entering cordially into the plan of supporting Mr. Adams for the office of Vice-president of the new Constitution (in 1788.) I still thought that he had high claims upon the public gratitude, and possessed substantial worth of character, which might atone for some great defects. In addition to this, it was well known that he was a favourite of New England; and it was obvious that his union with General Washington would tend to give the government, in its outset, all the strength which it could derive from the character of the two principal magistrates. But it was deemed an essential point of caution to take care that accident, or an intrigue of the op-

posers of government, should not raise Mr. Adams instead of General Washington to the first place. This every friend of the government would have considered as a disastrous event; as well because it would have displayed a capricious operation of the system, in elevating to the first station a man intended for the second; as because it was conceived that the incomparable superior weight and transcendent popularity of General Washington rendered his presence at the head of the government, in its first organization, a matter of primary and indispensable importance. It was therefore agreed that a few votes should be diverted from Mr. Adams to other persons, so as to insure to General Washington a plurality.

"Great was my astonishment, and equally great my regret, when afterwards I learnt from persons of unquestionable veracity, that Mr. Adams *had complained of unfair treatment in not having been permitted to take an equal chance with General Washington*, by leaving the votes to an uninfluenced current.

"The extreme egotism of the temper which could blind a man to considerations so obvious as those that had recommended the course pursued, cannot be enforced by my comment. It exceeded all that I imagined, and showed, in too strong a light, that the vanity which I have ascribed to him

existed to a degree that rendered it more than a harmless foible.

"The epoch at length arrived when the retreat of General Washington (in 1796) made it necessary to fix upon a successor. By this time men of principal influence in the federal party, whose situations had led them to an intimate acquaintance with Mr. Adams's character, began to entertain serious doubts about his fitness for the station; yet his pretensions, in several respects, were so strong, that after mature reflection they thought it better to indulge their hopes than listen to their fears. To this conclusion the desire of preserving harmony in the federal party was a weighty inducement. Accordingly it was determined to support Mr. Adams for the chief magistracy.

"It was evidently of much consequence to have an eminent federalist Vice-president. Mr. Thomas Pinckney, of South Carolina, was selected for this purpose. This gentleman, too little known in the north, had been all his lifetime distinguished in the south for the mildness and amiableness of his manners, the rectitude and purity of his morals, and the soundness and correctness of his understanding, accompanied by an habitual discretion and self-command, which has often occasioned a parallel to be drawn between him and the venerated Washington. In addition to these recom-

mendations, he had been during a critical period our minister at the court of London, and recently envoy extraordinary to the court of Spain; and in both these trusts he had acquitted himself to the satisfaction of all parties. With the court of Spain he had effected a treaty, which removed all the thorny subjects of contention that had so long threatened the peace of the two countries, and stipulated for the United States, on their southern frontier, and on the Mississippi, advantages of real magnitude and importance.

"Well-informed men knew that the event of the election was extremely problematical; and while the friends of Mr. Jefferson predicted his success with sanguine confidence, his opposers feared that he might have at least an equal chance with any federal candidate.

"To exclude him was deemed, by the federalists, a primary object. Those of them who possessed the best means of judging, were of opinion that it was far less important whether Mr. Adams or Mr. Pinckney was the successful candidate, than that Mr. Jefferson should not be the person; and on this principle it was understood among them that the two first-mentioned gentlemen should be equally supported, leaving to casual accessions of votes in favour of one or the other, to turn the scale between them.

"In this plan I united with good faith, in the

resolution to which I scrupulously adhered, of giving to each candidate an equal support. This was done wherever my influence extended; as was more particularly manifested in the state of New York, where all the electors were my warm personal or political friends, and all gave a concurrent vote for the two federal candidates.

" It is true, that a faithful execution of this plan would have given Mr. Pinckney a somewhat better chance than Mr. Adams; nor shall it be concealed that an issue favourable to the former would not have been disagreeable to me; as indeed I declared at that time in the circles of my confidential friends. The considerations which had reconciled me to the success of Mr. Pinckney were of a nature exclusively public; they resulted from the disgusting egotism, the distempered jealousy, and the ungovernable indiscretion of Mr. Adams's temper, joined to some doubts of the correctness of his maxims of administration. Though in matters of finance he had acted with the federal party; yet he had more than once broached theories at variance with his practice; and in conversation he repeatedly made excursions into the field of foreign politics, which alarmed the friends of the prevailing system.

" The plan of giving equal support to the two federal candidates was not pursued. Personal attachment for Mr. Adams, especially in the New

England States, caused a number of votes to be withheld from Mr. Pinckney, and thrown away. The result was, that Mr. Adams was elected President by a majority of only *two* votes, and Mr. Jefferson Vice-president.

"This issue demonstrated the wisdom of the plan which had been abandoned, and how greatly, in departing from it, the *cause* had been sacrificed to the *man*. But for a sort of miracle the departure would have made Mr. Jefferson President. No one, sincere in the opinion that this gentleman was an ineligible and dangerous candidate, can hesitate in pronouncing, that in dropping Mr. Pinckney too much was put at hazard; and that those who promoted the other course acted with prudence and propriety.

"It is to this circumstance of the equal support of Mr. Pinckney that we are in a great measure to refer the serious schism which has grown up in the federal party. Mr. Adams never could forgive the men who had been engaged in the plan, though it embraced some of his most partial admirers. He had discovered bitter animosity against several of them. Against me his rage has been so vehement as to cause him more than once to forget the decorum which, in his situation, ought to have been an inviolable law. It will not appear an exaggeration to those who have studied his character, to suppose that he is capable of being

alienated from a system to which he has been attached, because it is upheld by men whom he hates."

We now come to a review of Mr. Adams's conduct as President: the opinions are thus stated by Mr. Hamilton:

"It will be recollected, that General Charles C. Pinckney, the brother of Thomas, had been deputed by President Washington as successor to Mr. Munroe at Paris, and had been refused to be received by the French government in his quality of Minister Plenipotentiary. As a final effort of accommodation, and as a mean, in case of failure, of enlightening and combining the public opinion, it was resolved to make another and a more solemn experiment in the form of a commission of three. This measure (with some objections to the detail) was approved by all parties; by the antifederalists, because they thought no evil so great as a rupture with France; by the federalists, because it was their system to avoid war with every power, if it could be done without the sacrifice of essential interests, or absolute humiliation.

"The expediency of the step was suggested to Mr. Adams through a federal channel, a considerable time before he determined to take it. He hesitated whether it could be done, after the rejection of General Pinckney, without national

debasement. The doubt was an honourable one; it was afterwards very properly surrendered to the cogent reasons which pleaded for a further experiment.

"The event of this experiment is fresh in our recollection. Our envoys, like our minister, were rejected. Tribute was demanded as a preliminary to negotiation. To their immortal honour, though France at the time was proudly triumphant, they repelled the disgraceful pretension. This conduct of the French government, in which it is difficult to say whether despotic insolence or unblushing corruption was most prominent, electrified the American people with a becoming indignation. In vain the partisans of France attempted to extenuate. The public voice was distinct and audible. The nation, disdaining so foul an overture, was ready to encounter the worst consequences of resistance.

"Without imitating the flatterers of Mr. Adams, who attribute to him the whole merit of producing the spirit which appeared in the community, it shall with cheerfulness be acknowledged, that he took upon the occasion a manly and courageous lead; that he did all in his power to rouse the pride of the nation; to inspire it with a just sense of the injuries and outrages which it had experienced, and to dispose it to a firm and

magnanimous resistance; and that his efforts contributed materially to the end.

"The latter conduct of Mr. Adams, in the vacillating measures which he adopted, with respect to the nomination of Mr. Murray as envoy to the French republic, and afterwards sending three others to supplicate at the feet of a set of demagogues, was a painful contrast to his commencement. Its effects sunk the tone of the public mind; impaired the confidence of the friends of the government in the executive chief; distracted the public opinion; unnerved the public councils; sowed the seeds of discord at home, and lowered the reputation of the government abroad.

"Very different from the practice of Mr. Adams was that of the modest and sage Washington. He consulted much, pondered much, resolved slowly, resolved surely: and as surely Mr. Adams might have benefited by the advice of his ministers. The stately system of not consulting ministers is likely to have a further disadvantage. It will tend to exclude from places of primary trust, the men most fit to occupy them.

"Few and feeble are the interested inducements to accept a place in our administration. Far from being lucrative, there is not one which will not involve pecuniary sacrifice to every *honest* man of

pre-eminent talents. And has not experience shown, that he must be fortunate indeed, if even the successful execution of his task can secure to him consideration and fame? Of a large harvest of obloquy he is sure."

Such are the opinions of Mr. Hamilton respecting the character and public conduct of Mr. Adams. The sentiments of a man so much respected, and so well informed of all the springs which set in motion the grand political machine of the United States, are invaluable, and leave the biographer of Mr. Adams but little to urge in his defence.

AARON BURR.

This enterprising character was born at Princetown, New Jersey, about the year 1755. He began his career under Arnold, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, when that officer with his little corps set out upon his Quixotic expedition to Canada. Burr accompanied the army as a volunteer; and after traversing an immense wilderness for several weeks, they arrived, in a famished condition, in the neighbourhood of Quebec, about the latter end of November 1775. Here they found themselves at the beginning of

winter in that bleak region, without tents, provisions, horses, or artillery, in the face of a formidable fortress! A storm, however, in addition to contrary winds, delayed the passage of the river, and alone prevented this little army, consisting scarcely of five hundred men, from assailing and perhaps carrying the town when they first came in sight; for, so unexpected was their arrival, that not more than fifty regular troops were at that time in the garrison.

Disappointed in this object, and having given time to Sir Guy Carleton, the English general, to form the inhabitants into a body of militia, they found themselves obliged to wait the arrival of Montgomery, who was expected from Montreal. This able leader, having left a detachment for the security of that city, made his appearance towards the close of December. His force, however, was not much superior to Arnold's, except in some small pieces of artillery. When these two adventurous commanders united their means, they found they were small indeed; but they were all they had to expect: a desperate assault on the town was therefore the only chance of success left them. It was the dead of winter; the snow covered the ground to the depth of five or six feet; the river was frozen over; supplies of provisions were precarious: they must either conquer or retreat, and that too without delay!

In the mean time Burr attached himself to General Montgomery in quality of aide-de-camp, and the issue of their assault upon Quebec is well known. His commander and two officers of the staff were killed in the action; Arnold was wounded, and near half the troops were made prisoners in the town. The remainder, after occupying the lower town for two or three days, were dislodged, and retreated to the general hospital, in the neighbourhood of which they still kept up a menacing attitude during the rest of the winter; stopping supplies of provisions, and converting the siege into a species of blockade, which gave the garrison considerable annoyance. Burr remained with the northern army, sharing all its fortunes; which, during the next campaign in 1776, were rather honourable than brilliant. During this time he rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He and his fellow-soldiers, however, had only to wait the succeeding year for the turning of the scale. In the campaign of 1777 Burr served in the army of General Gates, and was present at the various actions preceding the convention of Saratoga, when they were gratified beyond measure by the capture of the whole British army under General Burgoyne.

Colonel Burr afterwards returned to his native State, New Jersey, with that portion of the northern army which was sent to the assistance of

General Washington during his operations in 1778 and 1779: while there, he performed some exploits as a partisan, but of no great moment in the general result of the national contest.

Fatigued or disgusted with a martial life, he left the army in 1779, and went to study law under Mr. Hosmer of Connecticut. At the conclusion of the war he settled at New York, and commenced his practice in that city; and, as one of his biographers observes, "that no means might be wanting to enable him to serve his country in every duty of a good citizen, he married about the same time a very amiable woman." She was a young widow, the relict of General Prevost, a British officer, who had served and died in Florida. This lady did not live many years after her second alliance; but left Mr. Burr one child, a daughter, now married to Mr. Allston of South Carolina. She also bequeathed to his care a son by her former husband; to whom Mr. Burr has the merit of having given an excellent education.

Mr. Burr had not long settled at New York, before his talents raised him to the notice of the people. His eloquence, which was of the brilliant and insinuating kind, was no sooner heard in a court of justice, than he was recognised as standing either at or near the head of his profession. He might doubtless have enriched him-

self by the practice of the law, had he pursued it with diligence and lived with œconomy; but he possessed a taste for expense, which, together with some unlucky speculations in land or other things foreign to his profession, have kept his fortune in a state of mediocrity. Another circumstance that militated against the accumulation of wealth was, the strong ambition which he evinced to figure in the higher stations of legislation and government; employments which in that country can yield no profit. He was early and often elected to the legislative assembly of the State, and several times delegated to Congress; and for a man who had no trace of family connexion in the State where he lived, and who had no fortune either to stand in the place of merit, or to help to set it off, his success in rising to the highest and most confidential post is surely no small proof of talent, if not of virtue.

At the election for president and vice-president in 1801, he was gratified by being chosen to fill the office of the latter, and by a singular contest between the different States he narrowly missed the chance of being elected president. Some persons have ascribed an unfair action to Burr on that occasion; but, as it has never been substantiated, it can be considered only as an idle rumour.

Notwithstanding this sudden elevation, Burr had the mortification to find after a short time

that his popularity declined rather than increased. His vanity and ambition, no doubt, tended considerably to alienate the affections of those who had supported him on account of his extraordinary talents; and the insinuations of his enemies also materially contributed to sink him in the favour of the people. Seeing, therefore, very little probability of being again elected to the office of vice-president, he declared himself candidate for Governor of the State of New York in 1804. In this, however, he did not succeed, being opposed by the greater part of the republicans, and by all the federalists.

During the canvass previous to the election, it seems that General Hamilton had made some free observations on the political and moral character of Burr, probably with a view to defeat his election. These afterwards found their way into the newspapers, and gave rise to that duel which terminated in the death of the General, and in the flight of Burr.

Having escaped from the hands of justice in New York, Burr had the temerity to make his appearance at Philadelphia; but finding that the public indignation was loudly expressed against him, he retired to the State of Tennessee, where he was a land-holder. There he remained in safety, the victim of his resentment being little known in that part of the Union; but the most

flagrant violation of the public feeling was the glaring fact of his continuing to exercise the functions of his office as vice-president, though a warrant of one of the States was in force to apprehend him! After the clamours against him had somewhat subsided, he ventured from his retreat, and was repeatedly seen in the vice-presidential chair, without any other notice than the whispers of resentment among the auditors in the gallery of the Senate chamber. It is said that he even presided during the whole of the trial of the venerable Judge Chace, who was afterwards proved to be more innocent than those who sat in judgement on him.

When his official term expired, Burr withdrew to his estate in Tennessee, and there matured those plans which his enterprising and ambitious mind had projected for the subjugation of Mexico and other parts of the Spanish possessions; though, in the opinion of many people, they were secretly intended for the separation of the Union. The facts and circumstances respecting this extraordinary affair are so recent, and have been so repeatedly detailed in the public prints, that it is unnecessary for me to enter into a long history of the subject: suffice it to say, that after collecting a number of adventurers like himself, of desperate fortune, and forming a magazine of stores, arms, and provisions, his plans were frustrated by the

interference of the government; and he, together with his associates, was apprehended and brought to trial. No sufficient proof of treason, however, could be adduced against them, and they were liberated upon bail. Since then, Burr retired to some more distant part of the Union, perhaps to form schemes of greater magnitude, and provide the means for carrying them into execution. Latterly he visited Europe, submitted some projects to the British ministry, and afterwards went to France, where he remained in 1812.

MR. BLANNERHASSET.

Among the deluded victims of Burr's unprincipled designs, is a gentleman of the name of Blannerhasset, a native of Ireland, who fled from the storms of his own country to enjoy the happiness of a quiet retreat in the interior of America. With a moderate fortune, a cultivated mind, and an amiable wife, he sought retirement on the banks of the Ohio; and until Aaron Burr introduced himself to his acquaintance, he had never experienced one unhappy moment. The cruelty and infamy of Burr's proceedings, which occasioned the fall of this unfortunate gentleman from a state of affluence and happiness to poverty and despair, have been so ably depictured by Mr. Wirt, one of the counsellors on Burr's trial, that

I should do him injustice were I to describe them in any other language than his own. I shall leave the reader to make his own comments on such vile and atrocious conduct.

Mr. Wirt, speaking of the daring violation of the laws of the country, of which Burr had been guilty, and his infamy in endeavouring to shift the blame from himself to Blannerhasset, exclaims, " Who then is Aaron Burr, in the part which he has borne in this transaction ? He is its author, its projector, its active executor. Bold, ardent, restless, aspiring, his brain conceived it, his hand brought it into action. Beginning his operations in New York, he associated with him men whose wealth is to supply the necessary funds. Possessed of the main spring, his personal labour contrives all the machinery. Pervading the continent from New York to New Orleans, he draws into his plan, by every allurement which he can contrive, men of all ranks and all descriptions. To youthful ardour, he presents danger and glory ; to ambition, rank, titles, and honour ; to avarice, mines of Mexico. To each person whom he addresses he presents the object adapted to his taste ; his recruiting officers are appointed ; men are engaged throughout the continent : civil life is indeed quiet upon its surface, but in its bosom this man has contrived to deposit the materials with which the

slightest touch of his match produces an explosion. All this, his restless ambition contrived; and in the autumn of 1806 he goes, for the last time, to apply this match. On this excursion he meets with Blannerhasset.

"Who is Blannerhasset? A native of Ireland, a man of letters, who fled from the storms of his own country to find quiet in ours. His history shows that war is not the natural element of his mind; if it had been, he never would have changed Ireland for America. So far is an army from furnishing the society natural and proper for Mr. Blannerhasset's character, that he retired from the population of the Atlantic States, and sought quiet and solitude in the bosom of our western forests. But he carried with him taste, science, and wealth; 'and lo! the desert smiled.' Possessing himself of a beautiful island in the Ohio, he rears upon it a palace, and decorates it with every embellishment of fancy. A shrubbery that Shenstone might have envied, blooms around him; music that might have charmed Calliope and her nymphs, is his; an extensive library spreads its treasures before him; a philosophical apparatus offers to him all the secrets and mysteries of nature: peace, tranquillity, and innocence spread their mingled delights around him; and, to crown the enchantment of the scene, a wife, who is said to be lovely beyond her sex, and

graced with every accomplishment that can render it irresistible, had blessed him with her love, and made him father of her children.

"The evidence would convince you, Sir, that this is but a faint picture of the real life. In the midst of all this peace, this innocence, and this tranquillity,—this feast of the mind, this pure banquet of the heart,—the destroyer comes—he comes to turn his paradise into a hell:—yet the flowers do not wither at his approach; and no monitory shuddering through the bosom of their unfortunate possessors warns him of the ruin that is coming upon him. A stranger presents himself. Introduced to their civilities by the high rank which he had lately held in his country, he soon finds his way to their hearts by the dignity and elegance of his demeanour, the light and beauty of his conversation, and the seductive and fascinating power of his address. The conquest was not a difficult one. Innocence is ever simple and credulous: conscious of no design itself, it suspects none in others; it wears no guard before its breast; every door and portal and avenue of the heart is thrown open, and all who choose it enter. Such was the state of Eden when the serpent entered its bowers. The prisoner, in a more engaging form, winding himself into the open and unpractised heart of the unfortunate Blannerhasset, found but little difficulty

in changing the native character of that heart, and the object of its affection. By degrees he infuses into it the poison of his own ambition; he breathes into it the fire of his own courage; a daring and desperate thirst for glory; and ardour panting for all the storm, and bustle, and hurricane of life.

"In a short time the whole man was changed, and every object of his former delight relinquished. No more he enjoys the tranquil scene; it has become flat and insipid to his taste; his books are abandoned; his retort and crucible are thrown aside; his shrubbery blooms and breathes its fragrance upon the air in vain, he likes it not; his ear no longer drinks the rich melody of music, it longs for the trumpet's clangor and the cannon's roar: even the prattle of his babes, once so sweet, no longer affects him; and the angel smile of his wife, which hitherto touched his bosom with ecstasy so unspeakable, is now unfelt and unseen. Greater objects have taken possession of his soul; his imagination has been dazzled by visions of diadems, and stars, and garters, and titles of nobility: he has been taught to burn with restless emulation at the names of Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte. His enchanted island is destined soon to elapse into a desert; and in a few months we find the tender and beautiful partner of his bosom, whom lately he 'permitted not the winds of sum-

mer to visit too roughly,' shivering at midnight on the winter banks of the Ohio, and mingling her tears with the torrents that froze as they fell. Yet this unfortunate man, thus deluded from his interest and his happiness,—thus seduced from the paths of innocence and peace,—thus confounded in the toils which were deliberately spread for him, and overwhelmed by the mastering spirit and genius of another ;—this man, thus ruined and undone, and made to play a subordinate part in this grand drama of guilt and treason,—this man is to be called the principal offender ;—while he by whom he was thus plunged and steeped in misery is comparatively innocent—a mere accessory ! Sir, neither the human heart nor the human understanding will bear a perversion so monstrous and absurd ; so shocking to the soul, so revolting to reason. O ! no, Sir, there is no man who knows any thing of this affair, who does not know that to every man concerned in it *Aaron Burr* was the sun to the planets which surrounded him : he bound them in their respective orbits, and gave them their light, their heat, and their motion. Let him not then shrink from the high destination which he has courted ; and having already ruined Blannerhasset in fortune, character, and happiness for ever, attempt to finish the tragedy by thrusting that ill-fated man between himself and punishment."

THE LATE GENERAL HAMILTON.

The father of this much respected character was a native of Scotland, settled in the island of St. Vincent, where he had married an American lady. When of proper age young Hamilton was sent to Columbia college, at New York, for his education, under the care of his mother's relations. He entered the American army at a very early stage of the contest, and at an age when he was little more than a school-boy; for he had but recently left college and entered a merchant's counting-house. Having raised a company of matrosses, or artillery-men, he took the field, and conducted himself in such a manner as to obtain the notice of the Commander-in-Chief. His high reputation for discretion and valour procured him the post of aide-de camp to General Washington, whose fame, according to the assertion of Mr. Cobbett, is more indebted to Mr. Hamilton than to any intrinsic merit of his own.

During the war Mr. Hamilton rose from rank to rank, till at the siege of York-town we see him a colonel commanding the attack on one of the redoubts, the capture of which decided the fate of Lord Cornwallis and his army. Here Mr. Cobbett relates an anecdote of this gentleman, which, if founded in truth, redounds greatly to his ho-

nour, but throws a shade over that of Washington and La Fayette. " Previous to the assault," says that writer, " La Fayette, who was high in command in the American army, proposed to Washington, *to put to death* all the British officers and soldiers that should be taken in the redoubts. Washington who, as Dr. Smyth truly observes, ' never did one generous action in his life,' replied, that as the Marquis had the chief command of the assault, ' *he might do as he pleased.*' This answer, which was very much like that of Pontius Pilate to the Jews, encouraged the base and vindictive Frenchman to give a positive order to Colonel Hamilton to execute his bloody intention. After the redoubts were subdued, La Fayette asked why his order had not been obeyed ; to which the gallant and humane Hamilton replied, ' that the Americans knew how to *fight*, but not to *murder* ;' in which sentiment he was joined by the American soldiers, who heard the remonstrances of La Fayette with indignation and abhorrence." Cobbett refers the reader for a detail of these facts to the *American* account of the revolutionary war, published by Dodson of Philadelphia, and inserted in the American edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. It is, however, rather singular that La Fayette, who was at the head of one of the parties that stormed the redoubts on that day, should himself have neglected to carry into execution his

own favourite proposition: surely he could not expect Colonel Hamilton to execute such an infamous plan, in which he himself declined taking any share: nor, from the known humanity, if not *generosity*, of General Washington, can we for a moment suppose that he would have quietly given his acquiescence to such a diabolical proceeding. This anecdote most likely originated with the enemies of that great man, and was made use of to answer the purpose of an election. At all events, those who have any regard for his character and reputation, and possess the means of contradicting this vile aspersion, should come forward and relieve his hitherto unblemished name from the odium which must otherwise attach to it.

The war being at an end, the army disbanded, and no provision made for either soldiers or officers, Mr. Hamilton was led to the profession of the law. He retired to Albany, where he secluded himself from the world for some months, at the end of which he was admitted to the bar; and, to the utter astonishment of every one, was in a very little time regarded as the most eminent advocate at a bar which was far from being destitute either of legal knowledge or rhetorical talents.

In this situation he acquired still greater honour by his courageous resistance of those violent and unjust measures which were proposed, and in some cases carried into execution, against the property

and persons of the royalists who remained in the State after the evacuation of the city of New York. He had fought bravely against them; and he now as bravely defended them against the persecution of those selfish and malignant cowards who had never dared to face them in the field: and it may be safely asserted, that the State of New York owed the restoration of its tranquillity and credit to his exertions more than to any other cause whatever.

When the federal government was established in the year 1778, Mr. Hamilton was appointed secretary of the treasury, an office in America similar to those of our lord treasurer and chancellor of the exchequer joined in one. This situation, considering the state of the American finances and the total want of public credit that prevailed, was a most arduous one; but Mr. Hamilton's genius, his inflexible integrity, and his indefatigable industry, surmounted all obstacles. In a very short space the American government regained the lost confidence of both natives and foreigners; the payment of the public debts was provided for, trade and commerce revived, and the nation rose to that importance to which without Mr. Hamilton's measures it would have made but a slow progress.

Having thus grafted the soldier upon the merchant, and the statesman upon the lawyer; having equalled if not excelled his contemporaries in all

these widely-various professions, he was justly regarded as a man to whom the nation might look with confidence in any future crisis of its affairs. No wonder, then, that his premature death should have created such general grief throughout the country; and that, while his memory is dear to the heart of every good man, that of his murderer is loaded with execrations.

JOHN RANDOLPH.

This gentleman, whose name many persons have confounded with that of Edmund Randolph, is a native of Virginia, and born of a very respectable family. Bred up to the profession of the law, attached to antifederal principles, he came into office under Mr. Jefferson's administration. Previous to this Mr. Randolph had for several years been a member of Congress; and upon several occasions during Mr. Adams's presidency he contrived materially to turn the current of popular opinion from the federalists to his party.

The indiscreet and intemperate warmth shown by the ruling party towards Great Britain, and their apparently tame acquiescence in the measures of Bonaparte, at length disgusted Mr. Randolph. He began by rebuking Mr. Madison, at

that time secretary of state, for acceding to the demand of Turreau the French ambassador; on which occasion Mr. Madison replied, "*that France was in want of money, and must have some from the United States.*" The pretext, as I have already stated, was payment for the Floridas and Louisiana; but it is well known that the Americans are in possession of no more than they were before the purchase-money was paid! This shuffling conduct occasioned Mr. Randolph to withdraw himself from the confidence of President Jefferson, and he then repeatedly told the house that there no longer existed a cabinet council.

Since then he has taken an active part in opposition to the measures of the democratical party, without absolutely joining the federalists. In thus steering a middle course he has been joined by many other members, who under his auspices have lately risen into public notice and esteem. Among them the names of Gardenier, Key, Dana, Otis, and Quincy are the most conspicuous. In many instances Mr. Randolph's speeches have been favourable to English measures and principles, as opposed to those of France; yet nevertheless he possesses that *amor patriæ* which consults only the good of his own country.

The integrity and virtue of this eminent character are sufficiently substantiated by his sentiments respecting the late Mr. Crowninshield's

proposition for cancelling the national debt in case of war with England. "The gentleman from Massachussetts," says Mr. Randolph, "is for spunging the national debt. I can never consent to it. I will never bring the ways and means of fraudulent bankruptcy into your committee of supply. Confiscation and swindling shall never be found among my estimates to meet the current expenditure of peace and war. No, Sir, I have said with the doors closed, and I say so when they are open, 'Pay the public debt.' Get rid of that dead weight upon your government that cramps all your measures, and then you may set the world at defiance. So long as it hangs upon you, you must have revenue, and to have revenue you must have *commerce*—commerce, peace."

Acting up to these patriotic and virtuous principles, Mr. Randolph was induced to bring forward a series of charges against General Wilkinson for corruption, in having received money at various times from the Spanish government at New Orleans in aid of traitorous practices against the United States. One of the documents which Mr. Randolph presented to the house on that occasion, is as follows:

TRANSLATION.

"In the galley the Victoria, Bernardo Molina patron, there have been sent to Don Vincent

Folch nine thousand six hundred and forty dollars, which sum, without making the least use of it, you will hold at my disposal, to deliver it at the moment an order may be presented to you by the American General Don James Wilkinson. God preserve you many years!

"THE BARON DE CARONDELET."

New Orleans, 20*th Jan.* 1796.

"I certify that the foregoing is a copy of its original, to which I refer.

(Signed) "THOMAS PORTELL."

New Madrid, 27*th June* 1796.

Mr. Randolph upon this and other documents impeached Wilkinson of being a Spanish pensioner, and pledged himself to prove the charges which he brought against him. A motion was accordingly made to request the President to institute an inquiry into Wilkinson's conduct. In the mean time Wilkinson challenged Randolph, who replied that he would not fight him till he had cleared up his character: in consequence of which the General posted an advertisement up in different parts of the city of Washington, proclaiming John Randolph a prevaricating poltroon and scoundrel.

Mr. Randolph, however, displayed his courage and magnanimity by treating this libel with con-

tempt; and patriotically continued to persevere in the investigation of this unpleasant business. At the examination of witnesses Mr. Randolph, on introducing Mr. Clark's affidavit, said, "The proofs, Mr. Speaker, which have this day been produced against your General-in-chief, together with what I hold in my hand, will convince you, Sir, and the world, that he is a base *traitor*. Believe me, Mr. Speaker, that this poison, this infectious, corrupted disease, is not confined to your General alone; it has, to the disgrace of the American character, I am sorry to say, extended to the army under your General's command! The very stores which descended the Ohio for the Burr conspiracy, *were taken, Sir, from the American arsenal!*"

If this last allegation is true, and it never has been contradicted, we may easily account for the acquittal of General Wilkinson, which afterwards took place. A *military court* of inquiry was instituted by the President to investigate the charges against him. They acquitted him of all corrupt practices; but acknowledged that he had, at various times, received large sums of money from the Governor of New Orleans for *tobacco!* Excellent management! I think they order these matters better in America than in Europe.

Mr. Randolph's figure is ordinary and forbidding: tall, lean, pale, and emaciated; he repulses

rather than invites. His voice is somewhat feminine; but that is little noticed the moment he has entered fully upon his subject, whether it be at the convivial table or in the house of representatives. The defects of his person are then forgotten in one continued blaze of shrewd, sensible, and eloquent remarks. By a manner peculiar to himself he arrests the wandering attention of his auditors, and rouses every slumbering faculty of the mind. The reasoning of Mr. Randolph is never strong and forcible; having a genius which despises the shackles of restraint, he throws off, in the paroxysms of feeling, the chains of argumentation, and ranges, as it were, with a quickened pace and gladdened heart through the wide field of general remark. If forced into a subtle and intricate discussion by his opponents, he yields with infinite reluctance to the imperious necessity of speaking to the judgement, without being permitted to charm and captivate the imagination. Yet, nevertheless, when he exhibits his subject naked, it has the nerve of Hercules, and is not relieved by a single feature of Adonis.

With the most powerful talents, with superior cultivation of mind, and with the most unsuspecting sincerity in the expression of all his opinions, Mr. Randolph is not calculated for a popular leader. The arts of conciliation are unknown to him.

Governed by the dictates of his own manly judgement, he cannot conceive that dependence which shackles weaker minds. It is thus that he never has been known to consult, to advise, or to compromise. His propositions are original: they are brought forward without one inquiry of who is to support, or who is to oppose them. Conscious of the purity of his own intentions, and satisfied with the correctness of his own judgement, he wishes not to defend the one, he seeks not to confirm the other, by his personal popularity.

Individually, there is no man in the district where he resides who is not better known, or whose manners and public habits are not more pleasing to the people, than Mr. Randolph's. It is probable, that if his election were put on that issue, he would never have held a seat in Congress. About him there is an atmosphere of repulsion which few dare to penetrate; but he who has the firmness to do it is eminently rewarded. Ardent and affectionate in his disposition, he is susceptible of strong and permanent affection: but if injured, he exhibits but little of that mild forbearance which is inculcated in the gentle precepts of our holy religion. His private history, however, abounds with evidences of the most humane and philanthropic feeling. One trait in his character denotes his inclination to live in peace and friend-

ship with those around him: he never will converse upon political subjects but with the greatest reluctance, well knowing what acrimony and discord they create, even between the warmest friends.

Although Mr. Randolph possesses general information, he cannot be considered a literary character. Except a minute knowledge of history and geography, his reading has been otherwise superficial. The wit of Mr. Randolph is keen, and too often indulged without regard to its effects on the feeling of others. Sometimes, however, its application is peculiarly happy. Dr. Dana, proverbial for his *pedantry*, once observed, in the presence of Mr. Randolph, that they were waiting for their *stalking* library (alluding to Dr. Mitchill): "Sir," said Randolph, "I heard him just now inquire for his *index*." The adversaries of Mr. Randolph have lately attempted to dishearten him by contumely and vulgar abuse; but he very properly refuses to be drawn into personal conflicts with whole hosts of enemies, who wish to drown their vengeance in his blood. "May he live long," says one of his friends, "and never cease to lash corruption with a calm disdain!"

MR. GARDENIER.

THERE cannot, says a celebrated English writer, a greater judgement befal a country than such a dreadful spirit of division as rends a government into *two distinct people*, and makes them greater strangers, and more averse to each other, than if they were actually two different nations. The effects of such a division are pernicious to the last degree; not only with regard to those advantages which they give the common enemy, but to those private evils which they produce in the heart of almost every particular person. This influence is very fatal both to men's morals and their understandings: it sinks the virtue of a nation; and not only so, but destroys even common sense. A furious party spirit, when it rages in its full violence, exerts itself in civil war and bloodshed; and, when it is under its greatest restraints, naturally breaks out in *falsehood, detraction, calumny, and a partial administration of justice.* In a word, it fills a nation with spleen and rancour, and extinguishes all the seeds of good nature, compassion, and humanity.

If these observations had been written at the present day, instead of a century ago, they could not have applied with greater truth to the situation of the United States than they do at this

moment, torn and divided as they are between democrats and federalists. These parties, however, which have so long convulsed the political machine of that country, seem to have given rise lately to a third party, which appears inclined to steer a middle course between the interests of England and France, as they relate to America.

Of this class of politicians I have already mentioned Mr. Gardenier, who next to his great leader, Mr. Randolph, is distinguished by the bold and manly sentiments which he delivers in the house of representatives. This gentleman is a native of the State of New York, and began his public career as member for Duchess county in that State. He soon distinguished himself in the house by several very able speeches against the pusillanimous and vacillating measures of the government; but his greatest efforts were levelled at the passing of the embargo act, which, conjointly with Mr. Randolph, he exerted every nerve to prevent. During the discussion of that important question, which occupied the house for several days and nights, he reflected severely upon the government. "The representatives of the nation," said Mr. Gardenier, "are sitting in this house as mere automata; they are guided by an *invisible* hand, which is bringing ruin upon the country, and threatens to chain us to the triumphal car of the Emperor Napoleon. Congress is

completely in the dark. We can obtain no information from the cabinet, why or wherefore we act; or for what motive we are about to commit a commercial suicide."

This bold and manly attack brought on him a host of assailants from the opposite party, who were for immediately expelling him the house. So great was the outcry against him, that the Speaker moved an adjournment, in order that they might take up the question more coolly the next day. Accordingly, on the following day Mr. G. W. Campbell, of Tennessee, came down to the house, and declared that Mr. Gardenier had uttered an *infamous falsehood*, and that he was ready to maintain his declaration in any manner Mr. Gardenier might think proper. This being construed into a challenge, a meeting was appointed, and a duel fought, which terminated by Mr. Gardenier being shot in the shoulder.

It is said that Mr. Campbell is one of the best shots in America, which possibly prompted him to stand forward the champion of his party. Mr. Gardenier, however, gained considerable celebrity from this rencontre, and was soon after elected by the federal party to represent the city of New York. A grand dinner was also given him on that occasion. Such is the rise of Mr. Gardenier, who bids fair to become one of the most distinguished characters in the Union.

ALBERT GALLATIN.

This adopted citizen of the United States is a native of Geneva, and removed to America about the year 1779; where, after surveying the country in different directions, he at length took up his residence in the western part of Pennsylvania. Until the insurrection in 1791 and 2, on account of the excise law, Mr. Gallatin was little known or noticed. But joining himself to a set of illiterate, lawless foreigners, and disappointed, unprincipled Americans, he became clerk to their committee, which was appointed to oppose the execution of the law. The following resolution will exhibit their sentiments on the subject: "That whereas some men be found among us, so far lost to every sense of virtue and feeling for the distresses of our country, as to accept the office for the collection of the duty:

"Resolved, therefore, that in future we will consider such persons as unworthy of our friendship; have no intercourse or dealings with them; withdraw from them every assistance, and *withhold all the comforts of life*, which depend upon those duties which, as men and fellow-citizens, we owe to each other; and upon all occasions treat them with the contempt they deserve: and that it be, and it is hereby most earnestly *recom-*

mended to the people at large, to follow the same line of conduct towards them.

(Signed) "JOHN CANNON, Chairman.
"ALBERT GALLATIN, Clerk."

General Washington, who was at that time President, endeavoured as much as possible to prevail on the insurgents to submit, but to no purpose. Accounts were received of immense crowds of these people meeting, and resolving, in the language of rebellion, to oppose the measures of government. An army was therefore marched against them; and the result was the destruction of some houses, and the loss of several lives. Gallatin afterwards availed himself of an act of amnesty; but not till he saw there was no chance of escaping by any other means the punishment due to his treason.

Such, however, was the violence of party-spirit in America, that in less than two years after this act of treason, Gallatin was chosen one of the members in Congress for the State of Pennsylvania. It is of course needless to say, that his principles accorded with the democratic faction, and that he became one of their warmest partisans. Cobbett, in his political Censor, gives a ludicrous account of this gentleman in Congress. Speaking of the debate on the "appropriation for the mint," he adverts to an expression made use of by Gal-

latin in delivering his sentiments on the occasion, where he says, " *that the House of Representatives have a right, by withholding appropriations when they see proper, to stop the wheels of government.*"

" When Mr. Gallatin," says Cobbett, " rose from his seat to broach this clogging principle, there was an old farmer sitting beside me to whom the person of the orator seemed familiar. ' Ah, ah !' says he, ' What's little Moses in Congress ?' I sharply reprimanded him for taking one of our representatives for a Jew ; but to confess a truth, the gentleman from *Geneva* has an accent not unlike that of a wandering Israelite. It is neither Italian, German, nor French ; and were it not a sort of *leze republicanism*, I would say he clipped the king's English most unmercifully. Such an accent is admirably adapted for extolling the value of leaden buckles, or for augmenting the discordant howlings of a synagogue ; but it throws a certain air of ridicule over the debates of a legislative assembly, and forms a sort of burlesque on the harmonious eloquence of the other members.

" When I told the good jog-trot to take care what he was saying, for that the personage then on his legs was no other than the great Gallatin ; he opened his eyes, and with a look and voice expressive of an honest indignation, ' What !' says he, ' that same Gallatin, who was one of the leaders in the western insurrection ?' I could

not help smiling at the simplicity of my country friend, in not perceiving that such a circumstance was the highest proof of Mr. Gallatin's patriotism, and the only one that recommended him to the suffrages of his constituents. 'No wonder,' says the farmer, 'that he wants to stop the wheels of government. I wish he'd attempt to stop the wheels of my waggon as I am going down hill.' 'God forgive me!' (says Cobbett) 'but I believe I said *Amen.*'"

Such is the man whom Mr. Jefferson afterwards thought fit to appoint to the important office of Secretary of the Treasury! That Mr. Gallatin possesses great financial talents, is the only apology that can be urged in Mr. Jefferson's defence, for bestowing an office of so much trust on a foreigner, and a traitor to his adopted country.

THOMAS ADDIS EMMETT.

Thomas Addis Emmett is the son of Dr. Robert Emmett, formerly an eminent physician in Ireland, and was originally brought up to his father's profession; but in 1787 he became a student of the Middle Temple, London, and was admitted a barrister in the Irish Courts in 1790.

Dr. Emmett had two other sons, Temple and Robert. The former, who was bred up to the law, died at an early age; and the latter fell a victim to revolutionary principles, being executed in Dublin in 1803, on account of the insurrection which terminated in the death of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice of Ireland.

Thomas Addis Emmett, who with his brothers had always been attached to democratic principles, joined the confederacy of United Irishmen in 1790 and 1791; which ultimately led to the rebellion of 1798. The event of that unhappy contest is well known; and Mr. Emmett, together with Arthur O'Connor, Dr. M'Nevin, and other leading revolutionists, were apprehended, and imprisoned in Fort George, in Scotland.

During the peace of 1802, Mr. Emmett and the rest of his fellow-prisoners were liberated, and allowed to reside in France. The subject of this memoir, however, true to democratic principles, soon became disgusted with the despotic tyranny of Buonaparte, and left the enslaved French to enjoy freedom in America. There he was received by the ruling party with congratulations, and by the federalists with civility.

Mr. Emmett has settled at New York, and practises as counsellor at law with considerable success. He is married, and has several children, and appears between forty and fifty years of age.

He is said to be amiable in private life, and eminent in his public capacity. Unfortunately his enmity to Great Britain, and predilection for political contests, has tempted him to mingle in the disputes which distract and divide the citizens of New York. It is said that he aspires to a seat in Congress, and consequently administers to the prejudices of the prevailing party, which, luckily for his consistency, happens to harmonize with his political enmity to Great Britain. Yet he should have refrained from endeavouring to widen the breach, in a city where he has experienced so much hospitality and kindness.

I had an opportunity once of hearing him plead in an action brought by Messrs. Wrights, Quakers, against the underwriters at New York. It was for the insurance of a ship from New York to Batavia, and back. On her return voyage, the vessel was carried into Barbadoes and condemned, for having sold two cables and a hundred pieces of duck to the Dutch government at Batavia, which was considered as a breach of neutrality, by supplying a belligerent with naval stores of which he was greatly in want. The plea set up was, " That the Batavian government being greatly distressed for those stores, and understanding that such were on board the ship, insisted upon having them; and that the captain did not think it prudent to risk the safety of his ship by

refusing their demand." He, however, had made neither protest nor opposition of any kind; but had erased the entry of the sale of them, which had been made in the log-book by the mate. It was the suspicion arising from the last circumstance, that had caused the detention of the vessel, and led to its final condemnation. Mr. Emmett pleaded for the owners. His arguments were, 1st. That the surplus of naval stores carried out was necessary for the safety of the ship, and was no more than a fair proportion for so long a voyage. 2d. That the necessities of the Batavian government were so urgent for those stores, that they valued them above money; and to have resisted their demand, would have caused the seizure of the ship. 3d. That the ship afterwards went from Batavia to the Isle of Bourbon, took in a cargo and sailed for America, was taken on her passage, and condemned by the British at Barbadoes. He therefore contended, that though the former cargo might be contraband of war, and illegally disposed of, it did not affect the home cargo. 4th. That, at all events, whether the condemnation was just or illegal, the underwriters insured risks, and ought to pay.

A verdict was given in favour of the plaintiffs for 72,000 dollars. Emmett is a plain-dressing man, and appears about forty-five years of age. He speaks with more vehemence than eloquence,

and seems rather fond of amplification and verbosity.

The spectators in court were much pleased with the decision of the jury; for the underwriters will seldom pay the insurance upon a vessel without an action, though the case perhaps will hardly admit of a dispute. I do not believe there are any people in the world more keen and shrewd in business than the Americans, or that will yield up a point that militates against their interest with greater reluctance. In their transactions with each other, it is often diamond cut diamond, as will appear by the following anecdote: Mr. B——, an eminent merchant, expecting the arrival of a valuable vessel every day, gave orders to Mr. H——, an underwriter, for its insurance. In a few hours after, news was brought him, that his vessel had gone ashore in a gale of wind, and was lost within a few miles of Sandy Hook. The old gentleman was afraid the underwriter would get information of it before the insurance was made, and therefore sent his clerk instantly to Mr. H——, to say, that if he had not filled up the policy, he did not wish him to do it, *as there was now no occasion for it.* The other being ignorant of the fact, thought that the vessel had arrived safe in port, and instantly replied that it was already made out: this, however, was not the case; but he directly stepped into a back room,

made his clerk fill up the policy, returned with it to the counting-house, and delivered it to Mr. B——'s clerk. In a quarter of an hour after, he learnt that the vessel was totally lost. He was so mortified at the *bite*, that he refused to pay the insurance; but Mr. B—— brought an action against him, and recovered the whole amount.

GENERAL MOREAU.

This celebrated general was born at Morlaix, in Low Brittany, now included in the department of La Vendée. His father was a man of great respectability, and on account of his integrity, disinterestedness, and private virtues, (although a lawyer,) was generally called the *father of the poor*. On the breaking out of the revolution, such was the general confidence in his honesty, that he was selected by the gentry and nobility of Morlaix and its neighbourhood, more especially those who proposed to emigrate, as the most proper person to be intrusted with the management of their affairs. The great number of deposits which he received on this occasion from the nobles and emigrants, contributed not a little to bring him afterwards to the guillotine. He was put to death at Brest, under the govern-

ment of Robespierre, by order of Prieur, then on a mission in the department of Finisterre.

It is not a little remarkable, that on the very same day the father suffered by the command of the tyrant, the victorious son entered Sluys in triumph, and added it to the dominions of the Republic! Several eye-witnesses have declared, that the people present at his execution shed torrents of tears, exclaiming several times "*They are taking our father away from us!*"

Young Moreau evinced from his early youth a strong prepossession for a military life, and at the age of eighteen actually enlisted as a soldier. His father, however, who considered this conduct as the effect of imprudence, bought his *congé*, and sent him back to resume his studies. Whether the law proved an unpleasant profession to him, or whether his propensity for arms got the better of every other inclination, it is certain that he soon enlisted again.

The elder Moreau, hurt at this second act of rashness, with a view that he might experience some of the hardships of the life he had chosen, suffered him to serve as a private for a few months; after which he was prevailed upon by his friends not to let the young man continue any longer in that low condition, as it would occasion him to lose the benefit of an early education. Before the revolution, a man who was not of the cast of

noblesse had but little hope of advancement in the army, whatever might have been his merit. Moreau was therefore, almost in spite of himself, compelled again to return to the dry study of the law, and to follow the profession of his father, who was eminent in this line.

When the revolution took place, Moreau was *Prévôt de droit* at Rennes, a mark of superiority among the students in law. In that office he acquitted himself to the complete satisfaction of every body. In 1788 the States of Brittany assembled at Rennes; but there being a disunion between the privileged orders and the *tiers état*, young Moreau, with three others, was deputed, on the part of the people, to confer with the Assembly. He and his colleagues managed this affair with so much ability, that the popular party obtained a complete triumph. The States were dissolved, and the young men of Nantz, who had assembled in great numbers, returned home peaceably.

From this period Moreau's reputation daily increased; and upon the formation of the national guards in 1789, he was made a colonel of one of the battalions. This honourable situation furnished Moreau with an opportunity of indulging his inclination for a military life. He accordingly soon abandoned the dry and tedious study of the law, and applied himself to tactics with such

steadiness, that in less than three months he was perfectly adequate to the command which had been intrusted to him. Expert military men have declared, that he became so great a proficient in his new study, as to be better acquainted with the management of a battalion, and the evolution and manœuvres incident to it, than many old officers. Such at that time was the persuasion of Moreau of his own capacity for military affairs, that he was heard several times to exclaim, "I shall soon become a commander." He indeed laboured so successfully to obtain his object, that his skilfulness and courage were not long unnoticed, especially while serving under Pichegru. He was in June 1794 promoted to the rank of general-in-chief, and conducted the siege of Ypres, which he took in twelve days after the opening of the trenches.

It is not necessary that I should follow General Moreau in his victorious career during the various campaigns in which he has served with so much credit to himself, and benefit to his country; for, to detail his actions in a manner worthy of so celebrated a character, they should occupy volumes rather than a few pages. The famous retreat from Bavaria, and the battle of Hohenlinden, are however the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Moreau; and he needs no other trophy to establish his character as one of the greatest generals of the age.

Moreau, notwithstanding his brilliant services in the cause of his country, has experienced nothing but insults and ingratitude in return. The man who after the victory of Hohenlinden said to Moreau, "*General, you have made the campaign of a consummate and great captain, while I have only made the campaign of a young and fortunate man,*" became his greatest enemy. Bonaparte could ill brook such a rival as Moreau; and notwithstanding the latter was generally beloved by the army and the people, he had no sooner usurped the crown of France than he contrived to ruin him.

Moreau, indeed, made no secret of his sentiments respecting Bonaparte's usurpation; and he was heard to declare at a ball at Madame Recamier's, where many of the Corsican's favourites were present, "That it is, and must be, an eternal indelible shame and reproach to thirty millions of Frenchmen, not to find amongst themselves one individual with talents enough to govern them; and to suffer the despotism of a cruel foreigner, who has waded through floods of French blood to usurp the throne of France."

With every acknowledgement of Moreau's disinterested patriotism and integrity, it cannot be supposed that he could view the conduct of Bonaparte without sentiments of envy and jealousy at his success. It is not in the nature of man to feel

otherwise; and particularly such a man as Moreau, who knew himself to be both an older officer and a more able general. He therefore courted rather than shunned the displeasure of his rival; and I question whether he does not feel more satisfaction in his exile, than if he were living in France, and mingling with the upstarts of the court of St. Cloud.

Bonaparte, it may naturally be supposed, wanted very little stimulus to rid himself of Moreau. He would no doubt gladly have sent him to the guillotine along with Georges and the rest of the Chouans; but he dreaded the resentment of the people and the army. A deportation was therefore the only remedy; and Moreau was sent to spend the remainder of his days in America.

His conduct during his residence in that country has been the subject of much newspaper criticism and private remark; though, as far as I have been able to judge, his behaviour seems irreproachable. The country has indeed been for many years past, and is at this day, so beset with the intriguing emissaries of France, that the public, who are apt to view things superficially, watch the motions of General Moreau with the utmost suspicion; and every little action of his for which they cannot account, is immediately set down to his disadvantage. The natural reserve of General Moreau, and the desire which he appears to have

of remaining as private as possible, are also calculated to feed the suspicions of the multitude; the greater part of whom consider him in the light of a French spy. His journey to New Orleans in 1808 gave rise to a thousand rumours, and served to create alarm in the minds of those who had become tired of the very name of revolution. Hence his situation even in America was far from being pleasant to a man of a noble and generous mind, who scorns to imbue his hands in the blood of his fellow-creatures to serve a mean and ignoble purpose.

That General Moreau (as many people supposed) was the tool of Buonaparte, and his secret agent in America, I cannot, from the known integrity of his character, for a moment believe. Never, surely, would he renounce all his hard-earned honours in the field of battle, to become a *subordinate villain!* He has already declared his detestation of the usurper and his measures; to *serve* such a man, he must participate in his crimes, and partake of his character.

Since writing the above, this great General and humane man returned to Europe, visited General Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, accepted the chief command of the allied Russian and Prussian army, was struck by a cannon shot, which took off both his legs, near Dresden, in August, and died at Toplitz on the 3d of Sept. 1813.

MADAME JEROME BONAPARTE.

KEEN as the Americans are, they have often been the dupes of Frenchmen; and I should think they have by this time had experience enough to avoid drawing the connexion between the two countries any closer. The assistance which the old government of France rendered to the Americans in the revolutionary war, is now well known to have proceeded from sinister designs; and the Emperor Napoleon, we all know, excels in artful intrigues and treacherous dissimulation; of course, he is not likely to act in a more honourable manner than his predecessors.

The Americans have been insulted in various instances by individuals as well as the government of that nation; and the marriage of Jerome Bonaparte with Miss Patterson will ever remain a lasting memorial of the morality and good faith of the Bonapartean dynasty. Such an infamous transaction might perhaps have roused the indignation of the American people more than it has, had they not known that Miss P. was prompted more by *ambition* than love to marry Napoleon's brother.

Madame Bonaparte is small in person and features, but extremely pretty; she is elegant and

accomplished in manners, though somewhat tinctured with hauteur; yet her disposition upon the whole is amiable, and she possesses attractions and qualifications that would give a lustre even to the Court of Westphalia. I have been told that Jerome is extremely fond of her, and, while on his naval cruise on the American station, availed himself of every opportunity to be with her. The injunctions of his iron-hearted brother, however, could not be avoided, and Jerome was compelled either to renounce the imperial connexion, or wed the Princess of Wirtemburg.

The unsuccessful attempt of Madame Bonaparte to land in France; her hospitable reception in England, and subsequent return to the United States, after the birth of her son, must be fresh in the recollection of those whose minds are alive to the strange events of this extraordinary age. She at present resides with her father, a very respectable merchant at Baltimore, who, I understand, was very much averse from the marriage. His daughter, however, conducts herself with the utmost propriety in her present unfortunate state; and if she cannot fulfil the duties of a good wife, she fulfils those of a tender mother, by devoting her time to the instruction and improvement of the young Jerome.*

* Madame Jerome Bonaparte has since been divorced from her husband by an Act of the Legislature of Baltimore.

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON.

Among those who have exerted themselves to promote the cultivation of the arts in the infant republic of America, is Mr. Livingston, the late ambassador from America to the court of Napoleon. This gentleman, who is also conspicuous as an eminent political character, was born in New York in 1745, and, after being bred to the law, was sent by that State to a meeting of the delegates in 1776. He was afterwards created by the Congress minister for foreign affairs, the duties of which situation he continued to fulfil till some time after the conclusion of the war, when the government of New York named him as chancellor of that State.

In 1794, when the Americans had adopted a neutral position in respect to the war in Europe, and complained (as they have always done) of both French and English depredations on their commerce, General Washington thought it necessary, for the preservation of peace, to send a solemn and special legation to each of those powers. Mr. Jay was named for the mission to the court of London, and Mr. Livingston to that at Paris. The latter gentleman, however, informed the president, that he should decline the nomination; in consequence of which, Mr. Monroe of Virginia was appointed in his room.

Chancellor Livingston continued in his office till

the year 1801, when a new vacancy happening in the embassy to France, and Mr. Jefferson being president, (in whose principles and sentiments he coincided,) he was nominated to that mission, and immediately repaired to Paris. There he was joined in the course of the next year by Mr. Monroe, on the business of negotiating with the French and Spanish ministers for the purchase of Louisiana and the Floridas. As both these gentlemen acted agreeably to instructions from their government, they are in some measure exculpated from the ignominy which appears to be attached to that transaction; at the same time, if any thing really has been done which involves the reputation of their government, they would have acted with more virtue and integrity if they had thrown up their commissions. It however appears that Mr. Livington soon after became either disgusted with his *mysterious* functions, or unable to carry his point at the court of St. Cloud; for in 1804 he returned to America, and was succeeded by General Armstrong, who resided in France as ambassador from the United States, till succeeded by the late Joel Barlow.

During Mr. Livingston's stay at Paris, he conceived the design of establishing an academy of fine arts in New York. In consequence, therefore, of his suggestions, a subscription was opened for raising a sum of money to obtain statues and paintings for the instruction of artists. Copies

in plaster were procured of some of the finest pieces of ancient sculpture, among which were the Fighting Gladiator, the Roman Senator, the reclining Hermaphrodite, the Laocoon group, the Jupiter Tonans, Niobe, Socrates, and a number of others. These were collected together at Paris, and forwarded to New York. Bonaparte afterwards made this infant academy a present of twenty-four large volumes of Italian prints, and several port-folios of drawings. These works of taste and genius are kept in a large room over the collector's office in the custom-house, until a proper building is erected for their reception.

Mr. Livingston enjoys an ample patrimonial estate called the upper manor; there being two manors of the name of Livingston, situated on the river Hudson, in the State of New York. On this was an old mansion, which he has rebuilt, and in which he usually resides in summer, living in that easy style of hospitality so much the characteristic of country gentlemen in England. He has devoted his principal attention to agriculture and rural pursuits, and has made several very useful experiments and improvements in farming. He is also President of the Agricultural Society at New York, which was formed entirely by his exertions. The Society publishes its transactions annually, and the chief communications are made by Mr. Livingston.

JOEL BARLOW.

The British Journalists (say the American writers) are apt to select unfavourable specimens of American literature, and then infer that the standard of intellect is low. They also sneer at, and represent the literature of the United States as coarse and superficial. The very condition of society in that country forbids its people to possess as yet any very exalted literary character. A comparatively thin population spread over an immense surface of the earth, opposes many great and serious obstacles to the production, and to the circulation, of literary effusions.

The infancy of its national independence, and the peculiar circumstances of its condition, do not yet allow a sufficient quantity of wealth, individual and general, to be diffused through the country, to create an effectual demand for books. The means of subsistence are so easy, and the sources of personal revenue are so abundant, that almost all the talent in the country is actively employed in prosecuting some commercial or agricultural pursuit, instead of being devoted to the calmer and less lucrative labours of literature. The scarcity of public libraries renders any great attainment in science and erudition very difficult. The want of literary competitors, rewards and

honours, together with the general defective means of liberal education, also conspire to deter men from dedicating themselves solely to letters.

Authorship not being a distinct or separate calling in America, as it is in England, any great excellence in writing cannot be expected: yet there is more in America than appears to the public eye, as some of the best scholars in that country follow other pursuits. From the small demand for literary productions, the ablest and best informed Americans seldom or never appear as writers; and the field is therefore almost entirely left clear for inferior abilities. The continual influx of British publications also tends to keep down the literary spirit of the country.

The facility of trade in America is a great check to literature; for wherever that spirit is prevalent it pervades all callings. The lawyer becomes a pettifogger, hunting after suits, and fleecing his clients; and the physician is a mere compounder of drugs and extortioner of fees. The path which is easiest to wealth will always be followed; and as literature has not the advantages that commerce has in that respect, it will for some time be neglected.

A considerable change has, however, within these few years taken place for the better. Philadelphia, Cambridge in Massachussetts, New York, Charleston, and other cities in the Union, have

laid the foundation, and are rapidly raising the superstructure of large and valuable public libraries. Private individuals also, and professional men, are gathering together extensive collections of books. The seminaries of elementary education are in a progressive state of amendment; the colleges must necessarily follow their example speedily, or they will be deserted. The literary market is daily increasing in its demand for the supply of useful and elegant publications, both native and foreign; and the continual influx of wealth from all corners of the earth (for the embargo was considered only as a temporary measure) must contribute greatly to the improvement of the arts, sciences and literature, by creating a desire for those refinements which follow in the train of opulence.

One of the best and most successful recent productions in prose is the little work entitled Salmagundi.* Its authors are three respectable young men at New York, who follow either mercantile pursuits or the profession of the law. The spirit with which it has been conducted, and the success which it has met with in every part of the Union, are proofs of its merit, and afford grounds to believe that the literary spirit of America is rising fast into repute.

* This work has been reprinted in England, in 2 vols.

The most successful poetical production of which America can boast is The Columbiad of Mr. Joel Barlow, which has recently made its appearance in the United States in a very splendid form. The author is a native of Connecticut, one of the New England states, and descended from a respectable English family, who were among the first settlers of Fairfield in that state. He is the youngest of ten children, and was a boy at school when his father died. The patrimonial estate was not very considerable; and being divided equally among the offspring, according to the custom of that country, the portion to each was but small. Young Barlow, therefore, as he grew up, found his inheritance little more than sufficient to finish his education.

In 1774 he removed from Dartmouth college, New Hampshire, to that of New Haven in Connecticut, where in 1778 he took the degree of bachelor of arts. Mr. Barlow in his early years had repeatedly evinced a considerable taste for poetry; and some of his juvenile pieces produced as college exercises were published, and gained him much applause. During this gentleman's residence at college the revolutionary war broke out; and such was the enthusiasm of the moment that men of opulence enrolled themselves in the ranks, and boys deserted their schools in order to become soldiers.

Mr. Barlow on that memorable occasion was accustomed, during his vacations, to seize his musket and fly to the camp, where four of his brothers were already in arms. He was present as a volunteer in several skirmishes, and actually assisted at one of the severest conflicts that happened during the war. His love of letters, however, rather than any abatement of military ardour, induced young Barlow to return from each of those excursions to his studies at New Haven.

About a twelvemonth after he obtained his degree of bachelor of arts he procured the chaplaincy of a brigade in the Massachussetts line of the army. Mr. Barlow was very glad to obtain this appointment, as, while it afforded him an honourable maintenance, it gave him leisure to prepare himself by study for any other pursuit to which his fancy might lead him. He continued in his clerical capacity till the conclusion of the war in 1783; during which time he formed an extensive acquaintance among the chiefs of his nation, both civil and military; at the same time he planned and nearly accomplished his poem of The Vision of Columbus.

When peace once more visited the country, and the clangor of arms was exchanged for the gentle murmurs of the loom, the spinning-wheel, and the plough, Mr. Barlow removed to Hartford, the capital of Connecticut, and commenced his pre-

parations for the profession of the law. As some temporary aid, however, was still necessary for subsistence, until the fees of an untried profession should begin to flow in, he purchased half the stock in trade of a printer and bookseller, with whom he entered into partnership, and aided in carrying on that complicated business, one part of which consisted in editing a newspaper. This connection continued only two years; and in 1785 Mr. Barlow was called to the bar.

The profession of a lawyer in America unites the duties both of advocate and solicitor, and the subject of this memoir now made a rapid progress towards fortune, having the double advantage of an extensive acquaintance with some of the first characters in the country, and a considerable stock of general science and literature.

In 1787 he published his "Vision of Columbus," a poem in nine books. This work added much to his reputation in America, and rendered him somewhat known in Europe. It was reprinted and published a few months afterwards in London by Dilly and Stockdale. But the following year opened a new scene for Mr. Barlow, which induced him to suspend the practice of the law, which he has never since resumed. The Ohio Company, composed of a number of respectable men, many of whom Mr. Barlow had intimately known while in the army, purchased from the

Congress a large tract of country lying on the border of the river of that name, consisting of between three and four millions of acres. Their project was to sell part of these lands to foreigners, and to settle themselves on the remainder.

This Company appointed Mr. Barlow their agent to transact their business in Europe; in consequence of which he repaired to England in 1788, and soon afterwards crossed over to France. He was able to dispose of only a few lots of that fertile territory, notwithstanding every allurement was held out to the purchasers. Had the settlement of the Ohio territory depended solely upon emigrants from Europe, it would, instead of being one of the most flourishing states of the Union, have remained an uncultivated wilderness. Fortunately for the company, adventurers from the most populous of the New England States were attracted by their liberal offers; and as they better understood the nature of clearing and settling of new land than Europeans, they in a short time rendered it a flourishing country.

European settlers in America labour under numerous disadvantages; they are ignorant of the quickest mode of clearing land, and turning it to advantage; they cannot submit to the hard labour and privations which the natives do; they neither like to dwell in a log-hut that is ready to tumble about their ears, and admits the wind, the

rain, or snow, in at every crevice; nor can they live for a twelvemonth together upon salt provisions. They are not happy unless they have their European comforts about them; they consider themselves as strangers in a foreign land; shut up in a gloomy wilderness among the beasts of the forest, and separated as it were from all human society. Hence they either fall a prey to melancholy and dejection, or to the numerous diseases which strangers are liable to in a newly settled country, occasioned for the most part by the mephitic vapours of the woods and marshes. The Americans on the contrary consider the forests as their natural habitations; they were born in them; and, like the wandering Indians, they emigrate from state to state, from one spot of land to another, increasing their property and improving the country. They submit to all the hardships of such a life with cheerfulness; and though like Europeans they are sometimes subject to the diseases of those new countries, yet they do not so often become the victims of them. They are also well acquainted with the quality and localities of a lot of land before they purchase it; the want of which knowledge has often ruined an European adventurer. Every thing with them is turned to some advantage or other; and instead of wasting their time in grubbing up the roots of trees to give their plantation a handsome appearance,

they leave the stumps in the ground, and sow their corn between them. They live upon the coarsest and most sparing diet, and dwell in the most miserable huts for the first year or two, till they have paid their expenses and are something in pocket; which they contrive to accomplish by the sale or barter of their crops of corn, their wood ashes, their shingles, their timber, and cattle. These are disposed of as the local situation of the farm enables them, and as occasion requires, to some great proprietor or merchant in the township, without whom, or some other opening for the sale of their produce, the clearing of land is but a barren speculation. An European, therefore, who wishes to embark in the clearing of lands in America, should consider well of all the inconveniences, privations, and obstacles which he must encounter, and the measures which he must adopt in the prosecution of such an undertaking, before he quits his own country. He must also make up his mind to be a loser in the outset of the thing, and to expend three or four hundred pounds, even on the most moderate computation, before he can expect to establish himself permanently. Many Europeans have spent thousands in such speculations in America, and have afterwards returned home beggars. People now begin to have their eyes opened rather more than formerly to the illusive offers of land-owners, even in Canada as well

as the United States, whose interest it is to have their property cultivated and improved. To those who have any inclination to settle in North America, and are unacquainted with the necessary steps that are to be taken under such circumstances, the hints which I have offered may, perhaps, be of considerable importance to them, and prevent their embarking in a hazardous speculation without the necessary precautions.

To return to the subject of this memoir, we find him in 1791-2 taking an active part in forwarding the principles of the French revolution as a member of the Constitutional Society of London. In that capacity he was nominated by the society to go over to France, in company with another member, and present an address from the society to the National Convention of France. "As the relations of peace," says Mr. Barlow's biographer, "which still existed and were kept up between the two countries had not then been disturbed, these two gentlemen undertook the task, doubtless without foreseeing the consequences that resulted from that measure. It soon after became the subject of legal inquiry, and is said to have given birth to the State trials which took place in the year 1794."

The result of this rash step was, that Mr. Barlow could not return to England, though he had departed with the intention of being absent only

two or three weeks, and had left his wife in London, and his private concerns unsettled. He therefore sent for Mrs. Barlow, and soon after accompanied some of the deputies who were sent from the Convention on a mission to Savoy, in order to forward the views of the inhabitants, who appeared eager to throw off the yoke of Victor Amadeus, King of Sardinia.

In this mission Mr. Barlow was actively engaged, and wrote several inspiriting addresses to the people, for which services the Convention decreed him the title of a French citizen. About this period the French intrigues in America began to alarm the Government; and General Washington, whose only wish was to remain in peace with all the world, no doubt saw with secret displeasure the activity of his countrymen in propagating the dangerous tenets of the French Government, both in Europe and America. It is most likely, therefore, that the order which Mr. Barlow received in 1795, from President Washington, to repair to the States of Barbary for the purpose of forming treaties with those powers, and redeeming the captive Americans from slavery, was chiefly to divert that gentleman from his revolutionary practices, and check the spirit of Jacobinism among Americans abroad as well as at home.

Mr. Barlow immediately obeyed the President's commands, and to his honour performed the ob-

jects of his mission in the most satisfactory manner. He negotiated treaties of peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and redeemed the American prisoners from captivity. In 1797 he returned to Paris; but as all the objects of the revolution which a friend to humanity could desire to have seen established, were overthrown and buried beneath tyranny and oppression, Mr. Barlow remained an unconcerned spectator in that country till he returned to America in 1805.*

It was during this period of inactivity in political affairs, that he had leisure to lay the foundation of the poem called "The Columbiad," which he has since completed and published in a very splendid manner. This poem is an enlargement of his Vision of Columbus, and is comprised in ten books. Columbus is the hero of the poem, and Hesper, who is represented as the guardian genius of the western continent, appears to him in prison; into which he had been thrown after being recalled from his government in the New World. The Genius endeavours to soothe and elevate his desponding spirit by anticipating the great events that were to flow from his illustrious deeds. Leaving the prison together, they ascend

* Mr. Barlow was appointed ambassador to the Court of France in 1812. The misfortunes of Napoleon, however, frustrated his journey to Moscow; and he died on his return to Paris from chagrin and fatigue.

to the summit of a high mountain, from whence the immense Continent of America is laid open to the view of the hero.

From this elevated spot Hesper describes to Columbus the geographical position or prominent parts of the New World; the state of the natives; and foretells the cruelties and devastations which are to ensue in the Spanish possessions of Mexico and Peru. He then proceeds to the settlement of the English colonists in America; and describes in glowing colours the revolutionary conflict in which they ultimately obtain their independence. Such are the main points of the poem; the subordinate parts are diversified with episodes and fanciful images, which tend to illustrate the subject and embellish the poem.

The greatest disadvantage which this poem lies under is the necessity of having its events foretold in a vision. Hence we are but little interested with the hero, who ought to be the life and soul of the poem. In the Iliad we have Achilles or Hector to charm us; in the Odyssey we have Ulysses; in the Æneid, Æneas: all of whom are ever present to our imagination, and concerned in the events before us: but Columbus is a mere inanimate personage who hears all and does nothing. Mr. Barlow has, however, had a very difficult task to perform. Modern history is not at all adapted for such poems; the events ought to

be mellowed by time; and if somewhat involved in obscurity, the author can better employ his fictitious agents in the business of the scene. His "*River gods*" and "*Gods of Frost*" can then take an active part with much more propriety; nay, their very existence perhaps may not then be questioned: but when we see a modern general struggling with one of these imaginary foes, and recent facts blended with fictitious events, our reason, in spite of every poetical license in their favour, will revolt at such incongruities.

These disadvantages do not, however, affect the merits of the poem in other respects. Mr. Barlow has displayed considerable taste and talents in the management of the subject, and has given the transactions of so long a period with much spirit and elegance. If he had said less upon some unpleasant events of the revolutionary war, it would have displayed more impartiality, and rendered the work less objectionable; but to dwell upon the subject of the "prison-ships," and display their horrors in an *engraving*, is not at all calculated to promote that "harmony and felicity between nations," which he makes Hesper predict to Columbus in the two last books of his poem.

Mr. Barlow has also suffered his better judgement to be influenced by a desire which has often evinced itself in many of his countrymen, of establishing what they denominate an "*American*

language," but which, in fact, is nothing more than pedantic and distorted English. Many of these *American* expressions have crept into the Columbiad, to the utter disfiguration of several otherwise beautiful passages; and that which ought to have been elegant and sublime, is nothing but mere fustian and bombast.

Yet, upon the whole, the Columbiad is entitled to a considerable share of applause; it evinces in the author abilities of no mean stamp, and possesses merits which are not to be found but in works of a superior cast. It is also the production of an "infant country," and on that account should be viewed in a more favourable light than if it had emanated from the birth-place of a Homer, a Virgil, or a Milton. Every spark of genius that is emitted from the Western Continent should be hailed with satisfaction; and instead of being extinguished by the pestilential breath of partial castigators, which, like the parching blast of the Arabian Simoom, destroys every thing within its reach, it should be fanned into a flame by the mild and gentle treatment of judicious critics. We might then hope to see the genius of the ancient world engrafted upon the new hemisphere; and if ever the day should come, that the modern powerful nations of Europe are compelled to transfer their sceptres like those of Greece and

Rome to a more western rival, it would be some satisfaction to Englishmen to know that that rival was descended from the ancient stock of their own nation, and had preserved the language, manners, genius, and laws of their ancestors.

CHIEF JUSTICE JAY.

This gentleman, who is better known in England from the treaty which he negotiated on the part of this country than by any very prominent acts during the revolutionary war, is descended from a French family who emigrated to America during the persecutions of the Hugonots in the reign of Louis XIV. His ancestors, with a number of other refugees, landed at New York about the time that colony was ceded to Great Britain by the Dutch. These persons purchased a tract of land within twenty miles of the city, on which they settled, and called the place New Rochelle, in remembrance of the sea-port of that name from which they had sailed. They retained their language and customs for a considerable time; but their religion and politics being the same as those of their English neighbours, they approximated by degrees; and like their brethren who settled in

England, they have for the last two generations become one and the same people, their French origin being discernible only by their names.

Mr. Jay was born at New Rochelle in 1734, and received his education at New York. He afterwards took up the profession of the law, and was in considerable practice when the revolutionary war broke out. This event called him, as it did many others, from private into public life; he being deputed as a member to the first Congress, the duties of which station he continued to perform until he was chosen President in 1777. He was afterwards sent as minister plenipotentiary to Spain, when that country had determined to join France in the war. In this situation he continued till he was nominated joint commissioner with Franklin and Adams, who were then at the courts of France and Holland, to treat with Great Britain for peace whenever an opening presented itself. This did accordingly take place in 1783, and Mr. Jay assisted in the treaty which gave to his country liberty and independence.

Mr. Jay, on his return to America, was appointed to the office of minister for foreign affairs, until the formation of the new constitution in 1789. On that memorable occasion he was honoured by President Washington, in concurrence with the voice of the senate, with the appoint-

ment of chief justice of the United States, an office of great power and responsibility. In 1794 he was sent as envoy extraordinary to England, for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of commerce, and to settle the differences and disputes which had arisen between the two countries. This desirable object Mr. Jay accomplished; and happily prevented, at that revolutionary period, a destructive war between England and the United States.

So unpopular, however, were both the treaty and its negotiator, that Mr. Jay, on his return to America, found it necessary to resign his official situation as chief justice. He was soon after elected governor of New York, which place he continued to hold for several years, until he declined any further election, and retired to his estate, where he enjoys the consolation of having served his country faithfully in its most trying moments, and of never having soiled his fair fame by one single act of vice or weakness.

COMMODORE BARRON.

It is certainly not the interest of such a country as the United States to keep up a large and expensive naval establishment, otherwise we might

be surprised that her marine force was formerly on such a despicable footing. It consisted of only ten frigates, from twenty-four to forty-four guns each, most of which were unserviceable; twelve sloops from seven to sixteen guns each; and sixty-nine gun-boats of one gun each. This latter species of force is said to be the favourite hobby of Mr. Jefferson, who conceived that it was quite sufficient for defensive purposes. The gun-boats are certainly very well adapted for action in shallow waters; but unfortunately for the United States, most of their principal sea-port towns lie open to the attack of line-of-battle ships, against which it would be impossible for gun-boats to be of any service. They therefore can be useful only in aiding the municipal regulations of the States: this they have sufficiently evinced since the embargo, for without them the spirit of mercantile adventure would have rendered the law nugatory.

There was not above three or four frigates in commission, and perhaps only two that were prepared for immediate service. The expense of the naval establishment was about 300,000*l.* sterling per annum, and nearly one half of that sum was expended in repairs. Notwithstanding this imbecile state of the American navy, it can boast of many brave and excellent officers, some of whom have at different periods distinguished themselves against the French and the Tripolitans in several

severe engagements. Among them, the names of Truxton, Rodgers, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Campbell, are the most conspicuous; nor must we omit that of Barron, who, though placed in a most unfortunate dilemma by the obstinacy of his own Government, and the ill-judged measures of one of our admirals, is, notwithstanding the misfortune that befel him, a brave and excellent seaman.

The attack upon the Chesapeake frigate was sudden and unexpected, otherwise Captain Barron would certainly have prepared his ship for action on the probability of such an event. It appears that he left port under no apprehension of such an attack; and it is positively said that he was ignorant of any British deserters being at that time on board; but that the officer who was on the recruiting party had enrolled four of our men under false names, and as American citizens, (certificates of which might easily be obtained for a false oath and a dollar,) and had sent them on board the Chesapeake without acquainting Captain Barron who they really were. The captain, of course, did not trouble himself to scrutinize the history of his seamen, many of whom he had good reason to believe were Englishmen, though perhaps not deserters; they might have entered from British merchantmen: if so, he was justified in his assertion to Captain Humphries, that he

had no deserters on board, to his knowledge, and in that respect cannot be accused of speaking falsely.

It is not, however, my wish to vindicate the American Government, or even Captain Barron, from the charge of encouraging British deserters to enter their naval service; all that I aim at is to place things in their true light, without favour or affection for one person or nation rather than another. That Captain Barron was culpable "for neglecting, on the probability of an engagement, to clear his ship for action," there is no doubt, since it was on that charge, and on that alone, that the court-martial sentenced him to be suspended from all command in the navy for five years. Upon every other allegation he was honourably acquitted.

The following extract from the opinions of the Court upon the fourth and last charge will serve to explain their sentiments on the subject, without entering into a detail of the several specifications:

"The attack of the Leopard was not suitably repelled by the Chesapeake, because it appears to the Court, that, circumstanced as the two ships then were, boarding the Leopard would have been impracticable; and, of course, no other means of repelling her attack remained but in the use of the Chesapeake's guns. That all these guns were

loaded, and not one of them was fired before the flag of the Chesapeake was struck, is most certain; but yet it appears to the Court, that Captain Barron, and the officers commanding divisions, did every thing which they could do to get them fired; and that the colours were not struck until all reasonable hope of succeeding in properly repelling the attack, in this way, was lost. The injuries sustained, either in the Chesapeake or her crew, did not at that time make her surrender necessary. Captain Barron might have waited until she had received many more and greater injuries, and had lost the lives and services of many more of her crew, before he could have been compelled by these causes to have struck his flag. But, during this interval of certain injury, he could have had no reasonable hope, even after he had sustained it, of doing any thing to the annoyance of his adversary. And in such a situation, he stands justified in the opinion of the Court in striking his flag. The striking his flag without consulting his officers, is a circumstance which this Court considers of no consequence. It is not the duty of a commander, under any circumstances, (and in the situation in which Captain Barron then was it would have been highly improper,) to consult his inferior officers as to the propriety of hauling down his colours. It is the opinion of the Court, therefore, that Captain James

Barron is NOT GUILTY under this fourth and last charge, ' for not doing his utmost to take or destroy the Leopard, which vessel it was his duty to encounter,' as this charge is explained and limited by the specifications annexed to it.

" In giving these opinions, it will be perceived that the Court have felt themselves bound to consider the several charges preferred as explained and limited by the specifications annexed to them respectively. The opinion of the Court, therefore, upon the charges of which they have acquitted the accused is to be considered in no other way, than that he is not guilty under these charges as so explained and limited. No transposition of the specifications, or any other modifications of the charges themselves, would alter the opinion of the Court as to the firmness and courage of the accused. The evidence upon this head is clear and satisfactory.

" The Court having agreed in the preceding opinions that Captain James Barron, although not guilty of three of the charges preferred against him, is nevertheless guilty under that wherein he is accused ' for neglecting, on the probability of an engagement, to clear his ship for action,' do further agree, that the said Captain James Barron, being guilty of this charge, falls under part of the fourth article of the Rules and Regulations for the Government of the Navy of the United States,

adopted by an Act of the Congress of the United States, passed on the twenty-third day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred, and entitled 'An Act for the better Government of the Navy of the United States;' and they do adjudge and SENTENCE the said Captain James Barron to be SUSPENDED from all command in the Navy of the United States, and this without pay or official emoluments of any kind, for the period and term of FIVE YEARS, from this eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eight.

"JOHN RODGERS,
WM. BAINBRIDGE,
HUGH G. CAMPBELL,
STEPHEN DECATUR, JUN.
JOHN SHAW,
JOHN SMITH,
D. PORTER,
JOS. TARBELL,
J. JONES,
JAS. LAWRENCE,
CHAS. LUDLOW,

LITTIN W. TAZEWELL, *Judge Advocate.*"

The above sentence was confirmed by the President of the United States.

DR. MITCHILL.

Dr. Mitchill was a boy when the declaration of independence was made in 1776, and had not attained maturity when that independence was allowed and confirmed by Great Britain. He spent several years immediately subsequent to the establishment of peace in Europe, visiting France, England and Scotland, for the purpose of education. Being destined for the profession of physic, he took a doctor's degree at Edinburgh in the autumn of 1786, and the next year returned to his native country. It is related of Dr. Mitchill, that he imbibed a taste for natural history when a child by reading Goldsmith's "Animated Nature," which accidentally fell into his hands. This was afterwards much improved by a sight of the cabinets in London and Paris, but more particularly by the lectures and experiments of Dr. Black, and the discourses and exhibition of specimens by Professor Walker.

On leaving Europe, he was intrusted with public dispatches from Mr. Adams, Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States at the Court of St. James's, to some of the heads of departments in the American Government. He arrived in America just in season to witness the progress of another revolution in the national government,

from the loose and ill-compacted confederation of the States, hastily conceived during the war, to the more efficient and better planned system of the new Federal Constitution.

Dr. Mitchill's political principles being in unison with those of the republican or democratic party, he was chosen to represent the city of New York in Congress soon after Mr. Jefferson's election to the presidency. He is consequently numbered among the friends of that gentleman, and continues to support the measures of Mr. Madison, his successor.

The attention of Dr. Mitchill has been a good deal directed to philosophical objects; in the prosecution of which he has carried on a very extensive correspondence, not only with the learned men and societies of his own country, but also with those of Europe. The subjects which he has investigated with most labour, are, the production, composition, and operation of pestilential fluids, or the history of those cases or vapours which infect the atmosphere, and excite febrile distempers. The doctrine of Septon, offered to the world by him and his pupils, in consequence of these investigations, forms a memorable feature in modern science. Dr. Mitchill has also a considerable taste for poetry; but very few of his labours in that department of the belles lettres have yet found their way into print. He

resides at New York, where he enjoys the comforts of a moderate fortune, and the esteem of his fellow citizens.

GENERAL PINCKNEY.

The family of the Pinckneys are among the most respectable of those who at the commencement of the revolutionary contest took an active part in favour of American independence. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and his brother Thomas, are both natives of the State of South Carolina, where they still reside on their respective estates.

The General was born about the year 1740, and when of a proper age was sent with his brother to be educated at one of our public schools in England. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, his father, who was at that time Chief Justice of South Carolina, joined the patriotic party, while his son Charles, who was then a member of the General Assembly of that State, resigned his situation, and joined the American standard.

Mr. Pinckney entered the ranks as one of the Charleston Volunteers; from which he was after-

wards appointed Major of the first regiment of the line, raised by the State of South Carolina, under the command of Colonel Gadsden, on whose promotion he succeeded to the command. The first engagement in which this regiment took part was in the defence of Fort Moultrie, which was attacked by Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton.

This fort was erected on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the harbour of Charleston. The Americans had fortified it with twenty-two and thirty-two pounders, and garrisoned it with about 300 men. The British having resolved to attack this island previous to their descent on Charleston, Admiral Parker, in the Bristol of 50 guns, with the Experiment of 50 guns, the Sole-bay, Actæon, Syren, and Sphynx frigates, the Thunder bomb, and an armed ship, got under way; and in a short time these ships, having all (except the Actæon, which ran aground) got springs on their cables, began a tremendous fire on the fort. At the same time the army attacked in boats; the floating batteries and armed craft moving to cover their landing.

From a quarter past eleven o'clock till half-past one the ships continued to receive an unremitting fire from the fort, when it slackened for a short time, owing to want of ammunition; but that being supplied, the fire was renewed, and

did not cease till nine at night, when the ships were hove off, the Bristol and Experiment being left almost wrecks on the water. The quarter deck of the Bristol was twice cleared of officers by the enemy's fire; but our gallant admiral stood with great composure and coolness, notwithstanding the slaughter around him; an instance of determined bravery which has certainly never been surpassed, though often equalled, by British sailors. The Bristol, whose complement of men did not much exceed three hundred, had her captain and forty men killed, and seventy-one wounded.

While we applaud the undaunted intrepidity of our own seamen, we cannot but admire the persevering ardour and bravery of the Americans, who with such a small and unequal force triumphed over their gallant assailants. Nothing but the highest degree of enthusiasm for the cause in which they had embarked, could have enabled them to stand against such a superior force.

The gallant conduct of Colonel Pinckney on this occasion obtained for him the marked approbation of General Washington, who appointed him one of his aides-de-camp, in which capacity he served at the battles of Brandy-wine and German-town. The Southern States being again attacked by the British forces, Colonel Pinckney

obtained leave to return to his native country, where he accordingly resumed the command of his regiment, at the head of which he made an assault on Savannah.

On his return from Georgia, Colonel Pinckney was appointed by General Lincoln commandant of Fort Moultrie; but on Charleston being besieged by land, and bombarded by a part of the British fleet, the Colonel's regiment was ordered to its defence; when after a gallant resistance he was with the remainder of the garrison taken prisoner, under honourable terms of capitulation. This event appears to have terminated the military career of Colonel Pinckney, as he could not procure himself to be exchanged till towards the conclusion of the war.

Peace had no sooner taken place, than Mr. Pinckney was appointed a delegate to the Federal Congress, and signed the present Constitution of the United States in the year 1788. On the score of gratitude to the French, though an impulse very different from *friendship* caused them to take the part of America, he, with many leading characters in the United States, was the avowed advocate of that nation, and so continued till their enormities changed those sentiments to the contempt and hatred of all good men. Mr. Pinckney has additional cause to despise them; for the then insolent republic refused to ac-

knowledge him as the minister plenipotentiary at Paris.

Mr. Pinckney was afterwards commander-in-chief of the militia of South Carolina, and was third in command under General Washington when the United States army was sent to quell the western insurrection. General Pinckney has been employed in several diplomatic missions, in which, if it has not been his good fortune always to succeed, he has been guided by a patriotic regard for the interests of his country, and displayed an open and conciliating spirit of negotiation best calculated to preserve peace and unanimity with foreign nations.

JAMES MONROE.

This gentleman is a native of Virginia, and between fifty and sixty years of age. He was educated at the college of Williamsburg in that state, and bred to the law. It is said that his studies preparatory to that profession were directed by Mr. Jefferson; and between these two gentlemen there has, till lately, existed the greatest attachment. Mr. Monroe inherited from his parents but a very slender fortune; and it seemed

necessary, if he would arrive at independence in this respect, that he should adhere to his professional avocations, and pursue them with assiduity: but he was destined to more brilliant though less lucrative pursuits. He was early brought into public life, where his services, in a variety of employments, have met with the approbation of his fellow-citizens.

He had scarcely attained the age of twenty-one when he was sent to Congress, which situation he afterwards resigned for a commission in the army; but going rather late into the military line, and after the period of rapid promotion had passed away, he rose only to the rank of colonel during the revolutionary contest. He is allowed to have served with honour and reputation; but we do not find any actions of great *éclat* in which his name appears.

Peace had no sooner put an end to this employment than he returned to his former profession at the bar. But he was almost immediately delegated again to Congress; and his election to this body was annually repeated, nearly without an interval, during the space of ten years.

In 1794 Mr. Monroe was sent to France in quality of minister to that republic. Mr. Jay was at the same time sent to England, and was fortunate enough to conclude a treaty of amity and commerce, which soon restored a good under-

standing between the two countries. Mr. Monroe was not so successful in his negotiation; he had to deal with the most unjust, rapacious, and villainous set of people that ever disgraced the government of a civilized nation. The failure cannot, therefore, be attributed to any want of abilities on his part; but rather to the insolent vanity of the French Government.

After a residence of two years at Paris, Mr. Monroe was charged by the federal administration with being too complaisant to the overbearing temper of the French Directory, who were anxious to involve America in a war with England. He was consequently recalled with a high degree of censure. After demanding of the Secretary of State a written declaration of the motives of his recall, he published his defence, which was of course well received by the republican party, of which he was a member, and who were then availing themselves of every opportunity to render the federalists unpopular.

Mr. Monroe was shortly after elected governor of Virginia, which office he filled by re-elections for three years, the longest period, according to the constitution of that state, that the same person can be eligible to that office until after an interval of three other years. About the expiration of this term Mr. Monroe was sent to join Mr. Livingston, the American minister at Paris,

for the purpose of settling the differences between Spain and the United States, and negotiating for the purchase of Louisiana.

After accomplishing the objects of his mission, he repaired to England as ambassador from the United States; and was afterwards joined by Mr. William Pinckney, who was sent to this country as joint commissioner with Mr. Monroe for the purpose of settling all differences between Great Britain and the United States, and to renew the treaty of amity and commerce between the two countries.

The fate of the treaty concluded by these gentlemen and His Majesty's commissioners is well known. The terms of it were far from being palatable to the British public; yet the treaty had no sooner arrived in America than it was rejected by Mr. Jefferson without consulting the Senate. It of course returned to England unratified; which, though it had failed in settling our differences with the United States, immediately terminated the disputes that had arisen amongst ourselves respecting the favourable terms granted to the Americans.

The rejection of this treaty by the President placed the American commissioners in rather an awkward predicament; and Mr. Monroe, in particular, experienced a singular coincidence of circumstances between this event and his recall from

Paris in 1796; with this difference, that he now had to enter the lists with his friend Jefferson, instead of the federalists. He returned to America in 1807, and immediately published a letter in defence of the treaty which he and Mr. Pinckney had signed, and in justification of their conduct. In doing this, he, of course, called in question the propriety of Mr. Jefferson's refusal to ratify it: in consequence of which, no great cordiality for a time existed between these gentlemen.

When this treaty was rejected by Mr. Jefferson, and that by no means in the most respectful manner, the British people expressed very little displeasure at the circumstance; nor did they call in question the right of the President to refuse the ratification of what his ministers had signed; but no sooner does a similar event take place in this country, by the rejection of Mr. Erskine's treaty, than the Americans (the republican party at least) are all up in arms against us, and deny our Government the very privilege which they claim for their President. Mr. Jefferson complained that the whole of his instructions had not been complied with, and that he could not obtain all the advantages he wanted: whereas our ministers assert, that Mr. Erskine went *beyond* his instructions, and conceded more than he was *authorized*. Upon what grounds, therefore, can the

Americans claim the right of rejecting an *incomplete* treaty, and deny us the same right of rejecting one that is *unauthorized?*

On perusing the instructions forwarded by Mr. Canning, in his letter to Mr. Erskine, of the 23d of January 1809, the propositions that are to be made to the American Government relate only to *three* points:

First, That the American Government, in the event of His Majesty's *consenting* to withdraw the orders in council of January and November 1807, is prepared to withdraw *contemporaneously* on its part, the interdiction of its harbours to ships of war, and all non-intercourse and non-importation acts, so far as respects Great Britain; leaving them in force with respect to France, and the powers which adopt or act under her decrees:

Secondly, That America is willing to renounce, during the present war, the pretension of carrying on in time of war all trade with the enemy's colonies, from which she was excluded during peace:

Thirdly, That Great Britain, for the purpose of securing the operation of the embargo act, with respect to France and the powers acting under her decrees, shall be at liberty to capture all American vessels that may be found attempting to trade with the ports of any of these powers; without which security, the raising the embargo, nomi-

nally, to Great Britain alone, would in fact raise it to all the world.

" On these conditions," says Mr. Canning, " His Majesty will consent to withdraw the orders in council of January and November 1807, so far as respects America ; and upon receiving through you (Mr. Erskine) a distinct and official recognition of the *three* abovementioned conditions on the part of the American Government, His Majesty will lose no time in sending to America a minister fully empowered to consign them to a formal and regular treaty."

Such, and such only, are the points touched upon by Mr. Canning, nor is there *one word* in the whole dispatch that authorizes, or even hints at, an adjustment of the Chesapeake affair ; which it was, no doubt, the intention of His Majesty's ministers to leave to the care of the minister whom they *intended* to appoint with full powers to settle *all* disputes. But what are the proceedings of Mr. Erskine on the receipt of this dispatch ? He immediately writes to Mr. Smith, the secretary of state, a letter that seems to have been dictated by a very different dispatch to that of the 23d of January 1809, which has been published in this country for the purpose of showing the authority upon which he acted. In that letter, dated the 17th of April following, Mr. Erskine does not say a word respecting the

three conditions upon which the orders of council will be withdrawn; but without any authority (unless he acted from instructions which have not yet been made known to the public) he offers, in the name of His Majesty, "*honourable reparation for the aggression committed by a British naval officer in the attack of the United States frigate, Chesapeake;*" and further says, that *in consequence of Congress having passed the non-intercourse act, His Majesty is "willing to restore the men forcibly taken out of the Chesapeake, and if acceptable to the American Government to make a suitable provision for the unfortunate sufferers on that occasion!*"

Such is the substance of Mr. Erskine's first communication to the American Government after the receipt of Mr. Canning's letter, though the latter does not mention a word about the Chesapeake; and surely Mr. Erskine made a very extraordinary proposition, when he offered to restore the men who had been forcibly taken out of that frigate, for the whole *four* had been tried at Halifax, and proved to be *British* seamen. One of them was *hung*, and the rest were sentenced to receive *five hundred lashes each*. Now after such a proceeding as this, to make such an offer as Mr. Erskine did, (and I cannot believe that he did it without authority,) was in fact to surrender up the right of power over our own seamen. It

was surely sufficient that we disclaimed the privilege of searching ships of war belonging to a neutral, because in so doing we trusted to the *honour* of that power, whose flag it is supposed *would not be a refuge for deserters.* But when a nation so far forgets itself as to receive such people on board its ships, and refuses to deliver them up at the request of the power to whom they belong, such nation places itself in a state of hostility with the offended party, and must take the consequence. America did this; her frigate was attacked, and we recovered our seamen; but because our Government disclaims the precipitate conduct of their officer, are they to deliver up their own subjects, who were afterwards deliberately tried by a court-martial at Halifax and punished? If they had been American citizens, they ought to have been given up long ago, and a suitable recompense made to the sufferers. Their surrender should not have been the subject of a stipulated condition; the act should have been voluntary, and it would then have afforded a *proof* of our inclination to make "atonement for the insult and aggression" of which we had been guilty. But as they have been proved to be British seamen and British citizens, what right has our Government to deliver them up to the Americans? Is it because we have derived such important benefits from the *non-intercourse act;*

an act which has deprived our merchants of several millions of exports; which has closed the door to our manufactures; and which possesses no other advantage, but the negative one of placing the enemy upon the same footing as ourselves in relation to the United States? In making such an ignominious proposition, either Mr. Erskine must have acted without authority, or, if he had authority, His Majesty's ministers could not have been aware of the important points which they were about to concede. Surely our cabinet-councils must have been in a very distracted state, when ministers offered to restore the *British seamen* taken from the Chesapeake frigate, after trying them by a court-martial, hanging one man, and flogging the rest!!

In reply to Mr. Erskine's letter of the 17th of April, Mr. Smith, the American secretary of state, in a note of the same day, after repeating our ambassador's words, and dwelling, with much apparent satisfaction, upon "the atonement which His Britannic Majesty is ready to make for the insult and aggression committed upon the United States' frigate," says, "But I have it in *express charge* from the President to state, while he forbears to insist on a further punishment of the offending officer, he is not the less sensible of the justice and utility of such an example; nor the *less persuaded* that it would *best comport* with

what is due from His Britannic Majesty, *to his own honour*."

How any minister could receive, *officially*, such an insulting note, I am really astonished. It evidently *dictates* to His Majesty that he ought to do more than he has done, though in Mr. Erskine's note His Majesty is made to express his sorrow and displeasure at the event; and as a proof of which, he recalled the offending officer from a highly important and honourable command; and offers to restore the seamen, and make a suitable provision for the sufferers. But Mr. Madison, or at least his secretary, does not consider the offer of our ministers as *sufficiently* humiliating; and therefore, though he *forbears to insist*, yet nevertheless he is of opinion that His Majesty *will not consult his own honour*, unless he punishes the offending officer in a more exemplary manner.

Hence, if our ministers had countenanced Mr. Erskine's proceedings, and the treaty had been ratified, our Government would have been placed in an awkward dilemma. They would have been under the necessity of either punishing Admiral Berkeley, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Madison, or have suffered a *severe stigma* to remain upon the *honour* of his Majesty. Such an insulting, dictating spirit was never displayed towards us even in Mr. Jefferson's administration; but *new ministers* must produce some *novelty* in their pro-

ceedings, and Mr. Smith, perhaps, conceived it necessary to display his *spirit* and *talents* at the commencement of his diplomatic career in the most *popular style,* as Cobbett's friend Bradford would have said. I even think I hear the republican party extolling his letter to the skies, and pointing out the *spirited* passages which they conceive will bend the proud neck of John Bull. Yet after all they are justified in making us submit to their terms, if they find we are ready to cringe to them; and if, to prevent America from joining France, we are willing to salute the *derrière* of their President, or even his secretary of state, we deserve the fate of the member of parliament, who, to gain the vote of a chimney-sweeper, made a low bow and kissed his sooty hand. "I shall give my vote to the other candidate," says the sweep; for any member of parliament that will condescend to kiss my hand, will not scruple to kiss the minister's ****."

Every sacrifice short of national degradation ought, however, to be made in order to preserve the friendship of America. No paltry etiquette or punctilio should for a moment obstruct the path of negotiation; and national prejudice, which I must confess is already too strong against the people of the United States, should, if possible, be buried in oblivion; at all events, our negotiators ought not to have the least tincture of it. A

treaty of amity and commerce might then, perhaps, be arranged upon fair and honourable grounds, without *an insolent dictation* on the one part, or *a degrading subserviency* on the other.

THE commerce of the United States, previous to the embargo, was in the most flourishing state, notwithstanding the depredations said to have been committed upon it by the belligerent powers of Europe, as will appear from the following official documents, laid before the House of Representatives on the 29th February, 1808, by Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury.

"Exports of the United States, from 1st October 1806 to 1st October 1807."

The goods, wares, and merchandize of domestic growth, or manufacture . . .	*Dols.* 48,699,592
Do. of foreign growth or manufacture	59,643,558
Total *Dols.*	108,343,150

Recapitulation of the above.

The following goods are classed as follows :

1st. Articles free of duty by law	2,080,114
2d. Do. liable to duty, and on re-exportation entitled to drawback.....	48,205,943
3d. Do. liable to duty, but no drawback on re-exportation..	9,357,501
Dols.	59,643,558

N. B. The duties collected on the 3d class are derived directly from the carrying trade, and amount to *Dols.* 1,393,877.

The articles of domestic growth or manufacture are arranged as follows :

1st Produce of the sea.....	2,804,000
2d. Do. of the forest.....	5,476,000
3d. Do. of agriculture.....	37,832,000
4th. Do. of manufactures.....	2,409,000
5th. Do. uncertain.....	179,000
Dols.	48,700,000

The following is a statement of the duties paid upon imports into the principal sea-port towns of the United States, calculated upon an average of four years, ending March 1805.

Towns.	*States.*	*Dollars.*
New York,	New York	12,862,020
Philadelphia,	Pennsylvania	7,777,965

Towns.	*States.*	*Dollars.*
Boston,	Massachussetts	6,408,400
Baltimore,	Maryland	3,861,963
Charleston,	South Carolina	3,031,639
Norfolk,	Virginia	1,761,673
Salem,	Massachussetts	1,034,498
Savannah,	Georgia	914,039
Providence,	Rhode Island	781,556
Portland,	Maine	545,265
Newhaven,	Connecticut	510,637
Wilmington,	North Carolina	319,110

Mr. Key, in his very able and masterly speech against the continuance of the embargo, stated, that of the exports of *domestic* produce of the United States, in 1807, amounting to 48,699,592 dollars, only 9,762,204 were exported to European ports *under the controul of France*, which had been since interdicted by the British orders in council; and that there consequently remained a surplus of 38,937,388 dollars of *American produce* which might yet be exported, if the embargo had not taken place: but war might have happened between France and America, a measure which Mr. Jefferson and his party wished to avoid.

The following list of salaries will clearly exhibit the œconomical system of government in the United States:

	Dollars.
The President, per annum	25,000
Vice President	10,000
Secretary of State	5,000
Secretary of the Treasury	5,000
Secretary of the War Department	4,500
Secretary of the Navy	4,500
Comptroller of the Treasury	3,500
Treasurer	3,000
Attorney General	3,000
Auditor of the Treasury	3,000
Postmaster-General	3,000
Register of the Treasury	2,400
Accountant of the War Department	2,000
Do. of the Navy Department	2,000
Assistant Postmaster-General	1,700

Names of the separate States of the federal republic.

New England, or Northern States.	Vermont New Hampshire District of Maine, belonging to Massachussetts Massachussetts Rhode Island Connecticut.

Middle States.	New York New Jersey Pennsylvania Delaware Ohio Michigan Indiana territory
Southern States.	Maryland Virginia Kentucky North Carolina South Carolina Georgia Tennessee Mississippi territory
Colony acquired by purchase.	Louisiana

General Statistical View of the United States for a Period of 20 *Years.*

Collected chiefly from Official Documents.

Enumeration.	Number or Value in 1788.	Number or Value in 1808.	Increase in twenty Years.
Num. of States in the Union	13	21	8
Square acres	283,800,000	600,000,000	316,200,000
Acres of land in cultivation	1,210,500	12,390,400	11,179,000
Average price of land, per acre	2 dollars	6 dollars	4 dollars
Popular. Whites and free people of colour	2,500,000	5,430,000	2,930,000
Popular. Slaves	700,000	1,070,000	370,000
Popular. Total population	3,200,000	6,500,000	3,300,000
Effective militia	450,000	930,000	480,000
Regular army	——	2,000	2,000
Naval force	——	10 frigates 81 sloops & gunboats	91 vessels
Dwelling-houses	640,000	1,225,000	585,000
Horses	600,000	1,200,000	600,000
Horned cattle	1,200,000	2,950,000	1,750,000
Post-offices	400	1848	1448
Revenues of general ditto	12,000*l.*	68,850*l.*	56,850*l.*
Expenses of ditto	11,000*l.*	58,500*l.*	47,500*l.*
Newspapers	80	350	270
The post extends in miles	5,000	33,000	28,000
Tonnage of merchant vessels	250,000	1,207,000	957,000
Value of imports in sterling	2,475,000*l.*	22,000,000*l.*	19,525,000*l.*
Exports in Sterling Domestic pro.	2,025,000*l.*	10,957,408*l.*	8,932,408*l.*
Exports in Sterling Foreign goods	225,000*l.*	13,410,800*l.*	13,194,800*l.*
Money. Total	2,250,000*l.*	24,377,208*l.*	22,127,208*l.*
Annual revenue	1,800,000*l.*	4,000,000*l.*	2,200,000*l.*
Specie in circulation	2,250,000*l.*	3,800,000*l.*	1,550,000*l.*
National debt	16,500,000*l.*	15,238,700*l.*	Decrease * 1,261,300*l.*

* Since the war with Britain, however, in 1812-13, the debt has increased to more than 20 millions.

CHAPTER XLII.

Leave Boston—Crowded Stage—Concord—Keene—Walpole—Newspapers—Diffusion of Knowledge and Information among the Country People—Leave New Hampshire—Enter Vermont—Origin of its Name—Stupendous Mountains—Particulars respecting Vermont—Arrive at Rutland—Indisposition there—Canadian Merchant—Quaint Phrases and Expressions of the Americans—An American Language—Christian Names—Arrive at Middlebury—Vergennes—Bad Roads through the Forests—A remarkable Thief—Arrival at Burlington—Account of that Town—Meet David—Continue my Journey to St. Alban's—Cross the Lake—Chois—Potash Manufactory—Journey from thence to La Prairie—Arrive at Montreal.

On Friday, 29th April, I left Boston about four o'clock in the morning. I had taken a place the preceding day in the Burlington stage, on my return to Canada. When I put my name down at the coach-office, there were not three places taken; but when the stage called for me at Lamphear's hotel the next morning, it was literally

crowded to an overflow. At the utmost the stage should hold no more than twelve persons, including the driver, and is then considered too crowded; but this morning there were upwards of sixteen persons jammed together in the most uncomfortable manner, sitting four on a seat, or leaning back in each other's lap. There are no *outside* passengers to the American stages; it may, therefore, be easily conceived how *agreeably* sixteen people were huddled together in the *inside*.

I found it useless to remonstrate with the driver at such a flagrant imposition upon the public; for unless I chose to crowd in among the rest, I should have been under the necessity of waiting four days longer, and perhaps with as little chance of being better accommodated. I was therefore obliged to take up with a small portion of the seat on which the driver and two others sat in front, and even that was an enviable birth to those behind. The coach was also crowded with baggage, and it was with difficulty I could find room for my portmanteau.

I must do the driver the justice to say, that it was the proprietor's and not his fault; and that he did not (as is sometimes the case with the *gemmen of the whip*, even in England) increase the unpleasantness of our situation by insolent or abusive language: on the contrary, he was very civil and good-humoured, and strove to quiet our

complaints by assuring us that he should set some of his passengers down, after we had gone a few miles.

We passed over West Boston bridge, through the town of Cambridge, and stopped to breakfast at Concord, a small village, celebrated as the scene of the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and her colonies in 1775. We dined at Groton; and arrived about dusk at the town of Keene, forty-five miles from Boston, where we slept. In the course of the day we had relieved ourselves of four of our fellow travellers, but the number left was still sufficient to be incommodious in a long journey.

The next morning, by break of day, we proceeded on our route, and arrived at Walpole to breakfast. The country we had passed over this morning and the preceding day, was partly in Massachussetts and New Hampshire. It was in general well cultivated, and consisted of lofty hills and fertile valleys. The towns and villages, though of inconsiderable size, consisted of neat and well-built houses, and displayed much of the characteristic cleanliness of the New England States. Walpole is situated on the Connecticut river, which divides the States of New Hampshire and Vermont.

The long stages throughout the United States always carry the mail; and it was entertaining to

see the eagerness of the people on our arrival, to get a sight of the last newspaper from Boston. They flocked to the post-office and the inn, and formed a variety of groups round those who were fortunate enough to possess themselves of a paper. There they stood, with open mouth, swallowing "*the lies of the day*," which would be as readily contradicted on the morrow. Opposite the inn at Walpole there is a printing-office, from which a newspaper issues once a week. The press was then at work, and the *devils* busily employed in fabricating accounts which, in a few hours after our departure, no doubt set all the town together by the ears.

In America all are politicians, and every man a federalist or a democrat. The eagerness of the people for news, far surpasses even that of our country. Newspapers are not charged with any duty, and seldom cost more than $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ or $3d.$ sterling, and about a halfpenny more for the carriage. Hence these vehicles of intelligence and information are accessible to every class of people in the States; and there is scarcely a poor owner of a miserable log hut, who lives on the border of the stage road, but has a newspaper left at his door.

Each man takes in a paper that agrees with his politics, or rather directs them; but those who are remotely situated from a town where they are

published, must depend upon the *politics of the coachman*, for such a paper as he chooses to bring them. One of the drivers during my journey happened to be a *federalist*, and afforded me considerable mirth in this respect. No sooner did he blow his horn than up scampered men, women, and children to the coach, eagerly begging for their favourite paper. If they wanted a *democratic* one, they must either take a *federalist*, or go without. He had a few of the others with him, but he never would deliver them if he could avoid it.

I am of opinion that this general circulation of newspapers throughout America tends very much to the instruction of the country people, and divests them of that air of ignorance and rusticity which characterizes the greater part of the peasantry in Europe. The knowledge acquired by newspapers may be superficial, but it gives men a general acquaintance with the world. It sets before them the actions of their countrymen, and the government under which they live; it renders them familiar with the transactions of foreign nations; and though confined to a small spot themselves, yet at one view they become acquainted with every section of the globe. Without a knowledge of what is passing in the world, man may be said to be an isolated being; but with a newspaper before him, he mixes with so-

ciety, hears the opinions of others, and may communicate his sentiments upon men and things to all parts of the world.

This general information among the country people of the United States tends to remove that air of honest ignorant rusticity, which distinguishes the peasantry of Europe; and hence they often appear to have the knowledge and cunning of the town, with little of its polish.

It is this, too, which may have led strangers to consider the Americans as artful and impertinent people, compared with the European peasantry. The humble simplicity of the latter won their affection, while the knowledge and confidence of the former occasioned offence; or, if they experienced politeness, it was looked upon as the civility of knaves willing to overreach them. Whatever inconveniences, however, may be felt from this diffusion of knowledge among the lower classes, by those who have been accustomed to homage and submission from their inferiors, yet a nation whose peasantry is thus instructed and enlightened must, I should think, feel the benefit of it, and possess advantages which others, whose people are whelmed in ignorance and superstition, can never enjoy.

The expense of travelling by the stage in the Northern and Middle States is not quite $3\frac{1}{2}d.$ sterling per mile; but in the Southern States it

is upwards of 6*d.* The taverns also to the northward seldom charge more than a quarter dollar for each meal, and the same for a bed; but to the southward it is double, and frequently triple that sum.

On leaving Walpole we crossed the Connecticut river, and entered the state of Vermont over a tolerably good bridge, near which is a pretty romantic fall or cascade. The river is of inconsiderable breadth in this part of the country, though it rises in Canada upwards of 120 miles above Walpole, and divides the states of Vermont and New Hampshire.

For several miles we rode along a tolerably level country, but by the time we halted to dine we were surrounded by enormous mountains. This state takes its name from the *Green Mountains*, and the people were originally distinguished by the title of *Green Mountain Boys;* but it at length became in their opinion a reproachful term, and they Frenchified the name of the State to *Vermont*, and themselves to *Vermontese.* Perhaps they displayed their partiality to the French in the adoption of this name, for the majority of the inhabitants are said to be of democratic principles. *Democracy*, however, is not the creed of Frenchmen at this day; yet it is curious to see how very tenacious the jacobins and liberty-men of Europe and America are, even now, of every thing that is

French, and how they bow down to and worship that *despotism* which a few years ago they reviled and execrated. But instead of paying homage to a *thousand* tyrants, they now idolize only *one!*

Vermont is generally a mountainous country; but there are higher mountains in New Hampshire. The White mountains in particular are said to be above 7000 feet above the level of the sea. Their summits are continually covered with snow, from which they derive their appellation.

> "No vernal blooms their torpid rocks array,
> But winter, lingering, chills the lap of May;
> No zephyr fondly sues the mountain's breast,
> But meteors glare, and stormy glooms invest."

Vermont is yet a new country, and before the American war was but little settled, especially towards the northern parts of the state. Most of the towns towards Canada have been built within these twenty years, and almost entirely depend for their existence upon the trade with that country. The southern part of Vermont trades chiefly with New York, Boston, Salem, and the principal New England ports. Their exports consist of pot- and pearl- ashes, salt pork, beef, and fish; horses, oxen, wheat, and flour; oak, pine timber, staves, and other lumber; butter, cheese, maple-sugar, &c. The principal articles which they re-

ceive from Canada are *salt* and *specie*, so that the balance of trade is greatly in their favour.

This State was peopled chiefly by emigrants from Massachussetts and Connecticut: but the township in Orange County is said to be settled mostly by *Scotch* people. The Vermontese are generally a tall, rawboned people; they are as industrious and hard-working as any of the New England men, but are less polished in their manners than those of other States. They are keen traders, and are seldom outwitted in a bargain: on the contrary, they have often displayed their dexterity as horse jockeys in Canada, and exchanged their weak and rickety pacers for the hardy little Canadian horses.

During this day's ride, I was for the most part the only passenger in the coach. The weather was fine, and I enjoyed my own cogitations without interruption, while the coach rolled along the edge of a stupendous mountain, or glided through a pleasant and fertile valley. Immense forests presented themselves every where to the eye, covering the whole of the highlands and mountains to their very summits. Below, the valleys were generally well cultivated; but in many places the trees appeared to have been very lately cut down.

We arrived in the evening at Rutland, one of the principal towns of Vermont, and alternately the seat of Government with Windsor. It con-

tains upwards of 200 inhabitants, and consists of a single street of tolerable houses, built of wood, well painted, and in good condition. The stage not travelling in this State on Sundays, and it being Saturday evening when I arrived, I was obliged to remain at Rutland all the following day. The fatigue of travelling, almost night and day, over different roads in a mountainous country, had made me extremely unwell, and it was fortunate that Sunday intervened, otherwise I should have been unable to proceed.

At the inn where we stopped, I met with Mr. Swan, a merchant of Montreal, who was on his way to New York with bills of exchange, which were selling in that city at eight and ten per cent. above par, in consequence of the stagnation of trade. In Canada, bills were at a discount of five per cent. so that it may be easily perceived what a lucrative traffic that gentleman was engaged in: specie, however, was prohibited by the embargo act from being sent out of the States; but the law was continually evaded.

Monday, 2d May, at three o'clock in the morning, I departed from Rutland in the stage, in company with an old lady who was going upon a visit to St. Alban's, a considerable distance beyond Burlington. We were the only passengers; and as my fellow traveller had nothing very fascinating, either in her manners or appearance,

we exchanged but few words together. She carried her provision with her in a bag, and at every place where we alighted to meals, she left me to do the honours of the table by myself; but she never failed, previous to getting into the coach again, to light a short pipe, and smoke it out on the road, continually annoying me with her disagreeable whiffs.

Not having entirely recovered from my indisposition the preceding day, and the road becoming worse every mile we went, my looks were by no means in my favour, and the old lady said to me, "*An't you a man that is not in good health?*" Though my spirits were extremely low, yet I could scarcely refrain from laughing at the quaintness of her question: however, I smoothed my countenance into gravity, and told her that I had lately been much fatigued by travelling.

I found in several instances that the country-people of Vermont, and other New England States, make use of many curious phrases and quaint expressions in their conversation, which are rendered more remarkable by a sort of *nasal twang* which they have in speaking. Every thing that creates surprise is *awful* with them; "what an *awful* wind! *awful* hole! *awful* hill! *awful* mouth! *awful* nose! &c.; and instead of imagining, supposing, or believing, as we do, they always *guess* at every thing; "I *guess* as how,

Jonathan, it's not so *could* as *yeasterday*." "Why I *guess*, Nathan, that the wind has changed." A variety of other quaint expressions are equally common, and have become favourite phrases, not only among the country people, but even among many of the American writers. "The crops are *progressing*," says Nathan, "though I *calculate* as how this is a *propitious* weedy soil." "Has the embargo act *progressed* in Congress?" "Which have you *reference* to?" says Jonathan, "for there are four or five of them." "Oh, the last supplementary," replies Nathan. "It will soon come plump upon us," returns the other; "It's *tarnation* provoking that we can't *swop* goods with the Canadians; what the devil has England or France to do with Lake Champlain? they don't search our vessels and take our seamen there." "It's a *nation* shame, to be sure," replies Nathan, "but I'm determined to *waggon* my ashes along a by-path over the Line, and bring back some genu-*ine* dollars from Canada. It's a *lengthy* way for *sartain*, but I *guess* I shall soon be on the opposite side of the Line, in spite of their *ograb-me* laws."

Colloquial barbarisms like the above, among the peasantry of a country, are excusable; but when they are used in composition by writers, they become disgusting. I could collect hundreds of others equally absurd, which have been invented by Americans who are desirous of intro-

ducing what they call an *American language;* but unless they resort to the *Catabaw, Chactaw,* or *Kickapoo* dialects, I am sure they will never accomplish it by *murdering* the English tongue.

The Americans, particularly in the New England States, formerly christened their children after the old formal names in vogue a few centuries ago: thus a stranger is every where coming in contact with an *Obadiah,* an *Ebenezer,* a *Nathan,* a *Jonathan,* an *Ezekiel,* a *Margery,* a *Deborah,* a *Susannah,* a *Dorothy,* &c. Of late years, however, the rage for fine poetical names has found its way among the Americans, as it has with us, and the puritanical appellations of their ancestors are gradually falling into disrepute. The revolutionary war has also had as much influence upon the names as upon the manners of the people; and the catalogues of *Grecian* and *Roman* heroes have been ransacked to find an appropriate title for the young Hesperian. Even a great portion of their lands have been honoured with the names of Homer, Virgil, Demosthenes, Cicero, Plato, Cato, Cincinnatus, Julius Cæsar, Pompey, Pliny, Livy, Sallust, &c. The young ladies now receive their names mostly from novels and romances; and *Laura Marias, Anna Marias, Adelaides, Emilies,* &c. have jumped over the heads of the poor neglected *Barbaras, Deborahs, Mollies, Betties,* and *Pollies.* In one of the New York papers of

April 1800, the following marriage was announced; it will serve to show that a multiplicity of *poetico-novel* names are not confined to the fashionables of Europe: "Married at Washington, Virginia, Mr. George Hudson, to Miss *Seraphina-Maria-Carolina-Matilda-Juliana-Sophia-Ann* Mansfield!"

We arrived at Middlebury to dinner. This town is situated in the vicinity of a waterfall, on which are erected several saw-mills, where much timber is sawed into planks for the use of the interior. There are two meeting-houses in Middlebury; one of them with a spire is the handsomest in Vermont; but it was not quite finished. There is also a college, or rather grammar-school, for the use of the surrounding country.

From Middlebury we proceeded along an indifferent road, and thinly settled country, to Vergennes, which is dignified with the title of city, though inferior in size and population to several other towns in the State. It is situated near a fall, upon which saw-mills, flour-mills, and manufactories for wool-cards are erected. It has a court-house, and two or three places of worship, and was settled about 1770.

We set out from Vergennes the next morning at three o'clock for Burlington, a distance of only twenty-two miles; yet the road was so very rough, that we did not arrive in that town till noon. The country in several places was tole-

rably well settled and cultivated, but for the most part the road lay through woods, where it required all the skill and dexterity of the driver to avoid deep ruts, huge stones, logs of wood, felled timber, and stumps of trees. The road was very narrow, and these obstructions continually obliged us to run in a serpentine direction. Fortunately our driver on this road had acquired, from constant practice, considerable dexterity; and he drove us through the narrow windings of the forest in a style that would not have disgraced any of our *fashionable* "mail coachmen."

A few miles before we arrived at Burlington, we passed a respectable brick-house and well-cultivated farm by the road-side. Our driver informed us that they belonged to Mr. R——, a remarkable character, who, notwithstanding he is a man of great property, yet has such a propensity for *thieving* that he can never see a thing without endeavouring to purloin it. He was detected but a short time back in driving to his own field a yoke of oxen, the property of a neighbouring farmer, for which prank he had to pay one or two thousand dollars, to escape punishment; and since then, a cobler surprised him in the act of pilfering his *awl and wax end!* Thus, even the most insignificant articles cannot escape his fingers. From the propensity which he evinces to *thieve* on all occasions, that vice seems to be

congenial with his nature; and is as completely a disease of the mind as insanity. The petty thefts which he has committed are innumerable: but the sums that he has paid to escape punishment, or as fines for his offences, are, I am told, of greater amount than the articles he has stolen. He is considered a wealthy farmer; and the house in which he lives being superior to the generality of buildings along that road, it serves to make his singular character publicly known; for the waggoners and stage coachmen never pass it without acquainting travellers with the strange propensity of its owner. Soon after we passed the house, he was pointed out to me on horseback, talking to a countryman. He appeared to be between forty and fifty years of age. His countenance did not seem to indicate dishonesty; but I do not profess to have the penetration of Lavater. He is, in consequence of his vicious conduct, deprived of his right of voting at elections; and is generally shunned throughout the county in which he resides.

We got into Burlington about noon. This town is 210 miles from Boston, and is built on a sandy height or bluff, rising gradually at the extremity of a very fine bay on Lake Champlain. About thirty years ago the place was covered with firs and pine-trees; only one miserable log hut stood in the midst of the forest, upon the site

of this now flourishing town. The principal houses are of red brick, and form a spacious square, consisting of private houses, shops, taverns, a printing-office, and court-house. The ground floor of the latter building also serves for a place of worship; and an upper apartment for a Freemasons' lodge! The best college in Vermont is in the vicinity of this town, and contains about seventy students. The number of inhabitants in Burlington is computed at 2,500. A new street is in contemplation, to communicate from the college to the town, to open into the square: at present the individuals who possess a part of the land required for this improvement, oppose the measure, and obstruct the wishes of the inhabitants.

Burlington is of growing importance, in consequence of the lucrative trade with Canada, and its excellent situation for that purpose, being scarcely seventy miles from St. John's. Sloops of 100 and 150 tons can navigate the lake with ease; and a free communication was constantly kept up between Burlington and St. John's previous to the embargo. The vessels were all American, so that a double advantage was derived from the trade with Canada. The inhabitants, therefore, justly deprecate a war with England; which, as they declared in their memorial for a

repeal of the embargo, as it related to them, "would make them poor indeed."

I expected to have found a sloop at this place, that would at least have carried me to the boundary line; but the supplementary act had so completely cut off all communication between the two countries by water, that on my arrival there was neither sloop nor boat in the harbour. After dinner, I went down to the water-side to learn if it were possible to procure a canoe to take me to the Line; and as I was walking along the beach, who should I meet but *David*, the mate of the sloop which had taken us from St. John's to Skenesborough six months before! David was glad to meet me, and we shook hands cordially together. I asked him how Robert and he got off with the old Dolphin after we left them. "The ice broke up," said David, "a few days after our arrival, and we got the sloop up to the town, where we took out the potash and butter: but she was such an *awful* crazy hulk, that Robert and I did not like to trust ourselves in her a second time, especially in such an *awful* season of the year; so we left her to rot at Skenesborough, and returned home by land." "You have, no doubt," said I, "cleared a few dollars by the speculation?" "Rot the old Dolphin," returned David, "we have lost a *nation sight* of money by her." David

would willingly have taken me to the Line in a canoe, but he could not procure one any where. I therefore returned to the tavern, and took a place in the *stage waggon*, that was going with the British mail to Swanton Falls, about fifty miles from Burlington. At that place the mail is delivered to the Canadian courier, who comes from St. John's part of the way in a canoe, and the rest on foot or horseback, as the path through the woods permits.

The communication between Canada and the United States, on the Vermont side of the lake, is yet very difficult. No regular road has been opened capable of admitting waggons or carts of any description. A few solitary settlers only have scattered their log huts in different parts of the forest bordering on the Line; but that part of the country is still a dreary and uncomfortable wilderness.

The stage, when I travelled, proceeded no further than Burlington; since then a new one has been built, which carries the mail and passengers upwards of 40 miles beyond that town. I was, therefore, under the necessity of seating myself once more in a stage waggon, of the same kind as that in which I travelled from Skenesborough to Troy. It was a mere cart, with four wheels, containing a couple of chairs for the accommodation of passengers; and unfortunately there hap-

pened to be three besides myself. Two of them were females, viz. the old lady who had *dry-smoked* me all the way from Rutland, and the lady of a Col. Sawyer, who keeps a tavern at Milford, about sixteen miles from Burlington: the other passenger was an old Scotchman, a mason by trade, who had formerly been in the British army during the American war, and had remained in the country.

The day was uncommonly hot; and having nothing to shade me from the sun, I was half roasted, and covered with dust; added to which, I had a most uncomfortable seat in the hind part of the waggon upon the mail bag, and other goods. I might indeed have sat in front along with the driver, but my legs would have been cramped between a large chest and the fore part of the waggon. Of two evils, I chose the least: but I shall never forget the shaking, jolting, jumbling, and tossing, which I experienced over this disagreeable road, up and down steep hills, which obliged us to alight (for we had only two poor jaded horses to drag us) and fag through the sand and dust, exposed to a burning sun. When we got into our delectable vehicle again, our situation was just as bad; for the road in many parts was continually obstructed by large stones, stumps of trees, and fallen timber; deep ruts and holes, over which, to use an American phrase, we

were *waggon'd* most unmercifully. And even now, while I am writing upon this subject, I almost fancy

> ——— "That every bone is aching
> After the shaking
> I had that day over ruts and ridges,
> And bridges
> Made of a few uneasy planks."

In the early part of the afternoon, the sun shone full upon us; but as it declined, the trees in the forest intercepted its scorching rays, and relieved me from a violent head-ache, occasioned by the sun, and my wearing a *black* hat. Light beaver or straw hats are the most proper for an American spring and summer. Black attracts the heat more powerfully, and retains it for a longer time.

We were often obliged to pass over bridges actually condemned by the select men at different places, who had put up notices, that they would not be answerable for the necks of those who were hardy enough to venture across; yet these sapient folks had not provided any other route for travellers. This was absolutely the case about a mile or two beyond Burlington. The usual bridge over Onion river had been carried away by the ice, and there was no other way of crossing but by an old bridge, condemned several years ago,

which stood over a precipice seventy-feet deep. It was upwards of four weeks since the other had been destroyed; yet so tardy were the inhabitants, even though their own safety was in question, that no preparations had been made for re-building it.

We got out when we came up with it, and sent the waggon over before us; it even shook with the weight of a single person, and whoever is on it when it falls must inevitably be dashed to pieces. Many bridges that we passed over in several other parts of Vermont were in the same dilapidated state; their very planks started up in our faces, as if to reproach us with treading on them.

The bad roads and bridges in these parts, I am told, would soon be repaired, if the republican or democratic party did not oppose the turnpike system, which is certainly the only method of remedying the grievance at present so much complained of. It is astonishing also, that with the example of the neighbouring States before them, they still continue so blind to the advantages that are to be derived to their State from facility of communication with distant parts. But, like their brother legislators in Georgia, *œconomy is their foible.* They conceive that the *sovereign people* ought not to be taxed, even for their own benefit. They would rather that his *hydra-headed* majesty

should break one of his many necks, than that they should lose their popularity as *œconomists.*

I slept this night at Milton, fourteen miles from Burlington. The inn is kept by Colonel Sawyer, who came up and handed his wife out of our *elegant* carriage. The Colonel is a disciple of Washington, and belonged to the continental army, which was composed of the best troops that the States possessed during the war. He had his certificate from the Society of the Cincinnati hanging up in his room, framed and glazed. It was signed by Washington, and I looked at the hand-writing of that great and excellent man with as much interest as I would have viewed the most precious relic. The Colonel is a pleasant, sensible man, has a large family, and lives happy and contented, though born to better prospects than the keeper of a tavern. But losses have obliged him to move in his present humble sphere. One of his sons was at Burlington college, finishing his education; and two fine boys, whom he had at home, he also intended to send there, if his circumstances permitted. The village of Milton consists only of the inn, and a few straggling farms.

Early the next morning we departed from thence, and were somewhat lighter than the preceding day; but our cattle were so miserably poor that it was with difficulty we could get along.

My old *smoking* fellow-traveller was more loquacious this day than usual, and the conversation being upon religion, I found she was a staunch Universalist.

Along this road there was little to see but thick woods, or half-cleared grounds. The country became more level, but the road improved very little. We passed through the town of Georgia, which is, however, nothing more than a village consisting of straggling houses. It contains a very good meeting-house, with a spire resembling those which I have before mentioned. It was erected by an English builder who is settled among them, and become one of their captains of militia.

The Baptists and Congregationalists are at loggerheads about the right of possessing this meeting-house. Both parties joined in the expense of building it, and agreed that their respective ministers should preach to the whole congregation, alternately, every Sunday. Matters had not long gone on in this friendly manner, when it was found that the Baptists wished to convert the Congregationalists to their faith, and to remove the minister of the latter from his office, by establishing their own as constant preacher. This encroachment was spiritedly resisted by the Congregationalists, who being the strongest party, were determined not to submit. Upon this, the

Baptists and their minister left the meeting, and wrote to the constituted authorities to settle the dispute, by compelling the Congregationalists to give their place of worship up to them. Their differences were not yet settled; but it was generally thought that the Congregationalists, being the most numerous, would obtain a victory over their opponents. Georgia is therefore likely to follow the example of Marlborough in Massachussetts, and erect *two* meeting-houses instead of *one*.

About one o'clock in the afternoon we arrived at St. Alban's, thirty-five miles from Burlington. It contains several houses, mostly stores, taverns, and lawyer's offices. The smallest town or village is never without the *latter*. A newspaper called the "St. Alban's Advertiser" is printed here once a week, and serves to illuminate the minds of the people throughout this part of the country, who would otherwise remain in complete ignorance of the affairs of their own country and the world, secluded as they are in miserable log huts, and environed by forests of lofty pines.

The mail was going on to Swanton Falls, and I might have continued my journey with it, and travelled with the Canadian courier to St. John's; but having two heavy portmanteaus, I thought they would be an incumbrance to me if obliged (as I was told) to walk for several miles through

a narrow path in the woods, before the courier crossed the lake in his canoe; neither did I understand that I could get any person to carry them that distance. I therefore paid my fare to the waggoner, and took leave of the old lady and the Scotchman. The latter shook me by the hand in a hearty manner, wishing me health and success, being, he said, always happy when he fell in with an Englishman, as it reminded him of his dear native land, to which he was still attached. I believe the Scotch people, of all men in the world, are the last that lose their predilection for their native country, and for this reason they are the best colonists that Great Britain can have. The Americans are *fond* of the Irish; *partial* to the English; but *hate* the Scotch. This, I am told, arises from the recollection that the oppression which they experienced previous to and during the revolutionary war, was occasioned by what they term the "*Bute Junto.*" The South Britons, they say, would have listened to their complaints, averted the horrors of war, and saved America, had they not been governed by the Scotch. This is at the best but problematical, and the independence of the United States has perhaps arisen more out of that state of things which occasions nations and empires to rise and fall, flourish and decay, than solely to any particular event, or the actions of any particular set

of men; they may lend their influence to the accomplishment of certain ends, but amidst the discordant and jarring interests of millions, they are but as drops of water in the ocean.

St. Alban's bay is about three miles from the town; and having parted from my fellow-travellers, I procured another waggon to convey me and my baggage thither. The road was bad, and I was shaken unmercifully; the country hereabout was more cleared, though apparently but indifferently cultivated, for the soil in many places was rocky and unfruitful. Arrived at the bay, I put up at a small house, which can hardly be called a tavern; it is, however, open for the accommodation of strangers who have occasion to pass that way. I had intended to have crossed the lake immediately; but the wind blew so violent, that the ferryman could not venture even to the opposite side of the bay. His canoe indeed was a miserable and dangerous mode of conveyance, even in the finest weather, for it would scarcely hold two persons, and was in a shattered condition. Having, therefore, made up my mind to spend the remainder of the day at St. Alban's bay, I went into the house and ordered dinner. Two strapping wenches were at the loom in one of the apartments, a shoemaker was stitching away in another, and the old landlady of the house was making beer in a large boiler over the

kitchen fire: she however left her work immediately to prepare my dinner. The beer was made with pumpkin peel, pieces of bread, and malt boiled down; it was for the use of the house, but I preferred water to their beer. After dinner I strolled along the road, but neither the weather nor the country had sufficient charms to invite me far from the bay. A few farm-houses were scattered here and there upon the cleared grounds, and a pot-ash manufactory was situated just opposite the tavern. I soon returned home, took a book out of my portmanteau, and amused myself with reading till I retired to rest.

The next morning I was up early, in the hope that the wind had abated sufficiently to allow me to cross the lake; but, unfortunately, the gale was as violent as ever, and I was doomed to pass another day in this melancholy place; at least it was so to me, who was anxious to reach Canada; and I could not help repining at the *embargo* which prevented my sailing from Burlington, and the *weather*, which prevented my leaving St. Alban's. But disappointments are more or less the lot of all travellers, and I tried to reconcile myself to that which I could not avoid.

The following morning, Friday 6th of May, the wind having abated, I crossed over to the first ferry in the small skiff, which by the time we landed was half full of water, though we had

only three quarters of a mile to go. This was not a regular ferry, being merely temporary, on account of the rising of the late waters, which overflow the road round the bay almost every spring, when the ice and snow melt. On my arrival at the other ferry-house the man ordered two of his sons to get the boat ready immediately, and in the mean time invited me to take some refreshment before my departure, as he said we should have a long row of more than twenty miles to Choisy, a small village situated about six miles up a river of the same name, and within four miles of the boundary line. It happened that I had had no breakfast; for, being anxious to proceed immediately, I would not wait till it was got ready at the tavern. His invitation was therefore very agreeable, and I sat down to a large tureen of milk. His wife soon baked a *johnny-cake* of Indian meal and rye at the fire, and I made an excellent breakfast.

There were two young French Canadians who were also waiting for a passage across the lake. They had been engaged by an American farmer at Montpelier in Vermont to assist him for a few months; but instead of paying them their wages in hard dollars, he gave one an old pair of boots, and the other an old coat, which he considered equivalent to their labour. He gave them only half a dollar to carry them back to Canada, a

distance of sixty or seventy miles; and if they had not met with people on the road of a more generous turn than their master, they would have fared miserably. The ferryman had entertained them free of cost for two days; and they now helped his sons to row the boat. As we were going down to the water-side we were joined by another man, who wished to go across the lake. The boat was flat-bottomed, and sufficiently large for our accommodation. We had four stout rowers; and in the course of an hour we reached the narrow part of Grande Isle, or the North Hero, as it is called by the Americans. This island is about twenty miles in length; and to go round the end of it, in crossing to the opposite side of the lake, would be tedious work. The ferry-boats are therefore hauled over the narrow part of the isle, which is not more than fifty feet wide, and launched on the opposite side. Having treated our rowers with some brandy and a crust of bread and cheese, we started for Choisy river. This was the longest row, it being ten miles to the entrance, and six miles up the river to the village. The day was fine, and rendered our excursion on the lake extremely agreeable: islands covered with trees, and distant mountains on the continent, varied the scene, and relieved the monotonous appearance of the large sheet of water upon which we glided along.

At four in the afternoon we arrived at Choisy, and put up at Judge Hicks's tavern. Choisy is a small village, and contains little more than a dozen straggling houses; yet it has the honour to have two judges for its inhabitants. One is of a superior rank, and resides in a handsome private house; the other, Judge Hicks, is a tavern-keeper, and also a custom-house officer; he was then at the head of a party of militia on the Line enforcing the embargo laws.

At the house of this gentleman I had the honour to reside till I could procure a waggon to carry me to La Prairie in Canada, a distance of forty miles.

There happened to be a drunken waggoner at the tavern when I arrived, he was bargaining with a man to fetch a quantity of goods from La Prairie, and no sooner heard that I was bound thither, than he proposed to take me for five dollars. It was his own proposition, and waggoners I know have in general but little conscience, so that I felt but little repugnance at offering to go with him for a dollar less: he stood out for some time, but it was at length agreed to split the difference, and he was to take me for four dollars and a half at noon the next day; he could not, he said, get ready before then, as his waggon was repairing. Upon this the bargain was concluded; and he promised faithfully, even on his *honour*, to be with me at the appointed time. I, however, placed

little reliance upon the *honour* of a drunken American waggoner; and in my mind was determined, if any other offer presented itself in the mean time, to accept it.

I therefore went to dinner, leaving the waggoner bargaining with the other man for the carriage of a load of goods from La Prairie.

The next morning after breakfast I took a walk through the village, and visited three or four potash manufactories. Pot and pearl-ash have now become of great importance in Europe, and are used for a variety of purposes, particularly in bleaching, soap manufacture, dyeing, &c. The new settlements in America are much benefited by the great demands for these articles, and the clearing of lands thus becomes a profitable concern. The process for making pot-ash is as follows:—The trees are cut down and burnt; after which the ashes are mixed with lime, and put into several large vats, which stand in rows upon a platform; water is then pumped into them, and after filtering through the lime and ashes, it dribbles out of a spicket into a long trough that is placed in front of the vats for that purpose. The water thus drained becomes a strong lye of a dark brown colour, though it gives the buckets which are continually dipped into it a *yellow* tinge. The lye is then put into large iron boilers, or, as they are more generally called, *potash kettles*. Large fires

are made underneath, and the lye is kept boiling for many hours, till it approaches a fine claret colour; after which it is taken out, left to cool, and becomes a solid body, like gray stone, and is called *potash*. The manufacture of pearl-ashes differs but little from the other: but these are manufactured with more care, and are afterwards calcined in an oven.

1,000 lbs. of oak ashes will make 111 lbs. pot-ash
1,000 ditto of hickory - - - 180 lbs. ditto
1,000 ditto of beech - - - 219 lbs. ditto
1,000 ditto of elm - - - - 166 lbs. ditto
1,000 ditto of maple - - - 110 lbs. ditto

The management of the fire influences the product. Labour is well paid with 700 lbs. of potash from 400 bushels of ashes. The harder and better woods afford the most alkali.

It was two in the afternoon before the waggoner, who lived about three miles off, arrived at the tavern to take me to La Prairie. I had given him up, and was agreeably surprised to find that he had not forfeited his *honour;* particularly when he told me that the man with whom he was bargaining yesterday to fetch goods from La Prairie had failed in his promises; and that if he had known that he should not have had the job, he certainly would not have gone with me alone, no

not for double the money; but he had pledged his *honour*, he said, and though he might be groggy at the time, yet he was determined not to disappoint me by breaking his engagement. He would have been at the tavern exactly at the hour he promised, had his waggon been mended in time.

Just before we started from Choisy Judge Hicks and a party of militia returned from the Line. The Judge had scarce entered his tavern when he was attacked by two or three traders about the embargo: they rallied him for forcing the law so strictly; what need had he to push himself so forward, and call out the militia? The Judge said he only did his duty as a custom-house officer; but the others swore it was his democratic principles that made him so zealous in favour of Jefferson's embargo. The Judge would have been severely roasted by the anti-embargoists if he had not left them to examine my portmanteaus, just as the driver was putting them into the waggon. He suspected that I might have specie, and lifted them up by the straps. One happening to have books in it was very heavy; but when I offered to open it, the Judge very politely declined looking into it, being satisfied with my assertion that it contained nothing more than books. The Judge possibly recollected himself; and doubtless thought if he pried too closely into the baggage of his customers his tavern would soon be deserted;

he therefore suffered private interest to get the better of public spirit.

At three in the afternoon we departed from Choisy; the weather was indifferent, and the road lay through thick gloomy woods. About four miles from the village we passed the boundary line, and entered the province of Lower Canada.

After passing a few log huts, over a tolerable good road, for about two or three miles, we entered again into the forest, where we had to plough through one of the most intolerable roads I ever met with. Sometimes the horses and waggon sunk down into deep sloughs; and scarce was the waggon dragged out with the utmost difficulty when it was jolted over large rock-stones, stumps of trees, huge pines which had been blown down in a gale of wind, and large trunks of trees with which the swampy parts of the road had been filled up. For upwards of ten miles did the poor horses toil and tug through this infamous road, jolting, tossing, and tumbling the waggoner and myself in every direction: it was with difficulty we could keep our seats; and the planks at the bottom of the waggon were every moment starting out of their places. At one time I expected the waggoner would have given up the journey, and left me to proceed on foot; for he declared that on his return he should have to spend the whole of the money he was to receive for my passage to

repair his waggon. At length, towards the evening the road became rather better; and about eight o'clock we arrived at a solitary tavern in the woods kept by a man of the name of Odell. This man has a brother living a few miles off possessed of considerable property, and I believe owns the township on the border of the line which bears his name. Odell's tavern was a mere log hut; but the apartments and furniture were clean, and in better condition than could be expected in such a wilderness. A very fine girl made tea for us; and though the habitation was miserable, yet its inhabitants appeared as if they had seen better days, which was indeed the case before the old man became distressed by the extravagance of his sons.

About four o'clock the next morning, Sunday 8th of May, we departed from Odell's tavern. For several miles we travelled through a continued forest, consisting of every variety of trees: vegetation was yet very backward, and there was but little to interest the traveller. I could indeed have slept composedly enough, had not the violent jolting over a bad road kept me in a perpetual motion. In two or three hours we arrived at L'Acadie, a small French settlement though of long standing. The land was cleared for several miles round; the fields neatly fenced in, the roads good, and every thing wore the appearance of the

old settled parts of Canada. The scene was heightened by our emerging suddenly out of the forest upon this neat settlement. The road now continued very good; and at ten o'clock we arrived at an American tavern within nine miles of La Prairie. It is situated on the road to St. John's, and was the one at which I breakfasted on my journey to that place the preceding November.

Here the stage from St. John's was expected to arrive every moment; and my waggoner earnestly requested me to take a place in it to La Prairie, as it would save him at least eighteen miles, and perhaps enable him to get back to Choisy that evening. After the civility I had received from the man, and knowing what an infamous road he had to travel over, I readily assented to his proposal: I therefore paid him the four dollars and a half, besides defraying his expenses at Odell's tavern; upon which he heartily thanked me, and was so well satisfied that he begged I would favour him with my name.

At breakfast I was attended by the landlord's handsome daughter whom I have before mentioned: she was as fair as the rest of her countrywomen in the States, but possessed a finer colour, to which the sharp northern air of Canada is more congenial than the warmer climate of the south. The stage soon arrived; and luckily for my waggoner there was just room for one person. I got

into the stage, and in the course of a couple of hours arrived at La Prairie de la Madelaine.

The wind blowing very hard down the river St. Lawrence, Mr. Linger, a collector of the customs at St. John's, and myself were prevented from crossing over to Montreal. We therefore dined at Cheeseman's tavern; after which the wind abating a little, we embarked in a canoe at Longuiel, and passed through the rapids above the islands, which owing to the high wind were violently agitated. It was a dangerous excursion, and I was completely wet through when I landed at Montreal. I immediately proceeded once more to Dillon's hotel, after an interval of six months.

THE END.

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